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Suburban Conservatism in the Sherwood Shire,  
1891-1920

Ralph Fones

Bachelor of Arts, University of Queensland, 1982  
History Department

Master of Arts (Local History)

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The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original, except as acknowledged in the text. The material has not been submitted either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

.....*R. Jones*.....

### Abstract

Between 1891 and 1920 the conservative outlook developed by agriculturalists in the Sherwood Shire, near Brisbane, survived the establishment of a suburban society. Important elements in the structure of this society included the residential pattern and the formation of status groups, especially the influential middle class minority. Equally significant were the social and cultural activities: membership of the shire council, school of arts, fraternal lodges, friendly societies and sporting organisations. Subsequently, a suburban rather than an agricultural conservative outlook emerged, which educational activities enhanced and a strong protestant religious presence entrenched. Between 1912 and 1920, the progressive ideals of Presbyterian minister, John Pollock, and events such as the Brisbane General Strike, the Great War and the Labour Party in government, produced a reaction characteristic of a conservative society.

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CONVERSION TABLES

Currency, distance and area used in this thesis, are considered as part of the history of the Sherwood Shire and therefore pre-date decimalization. The conversion tables below indicate the present day equivalent.

Currency		Distance	
One penny or 1 <sup>d</sup>	= 0.833c	One inch or 1"	= app. 2.5 centimetres
Sixpence or 6 <sup>d</sup>	= 5c	One foot or 1'	= app. 30.5 centimetres
One shilling or 1/-	= 10c	One yard	= app. 0.915 metres
Five shillings or 5/-	= 50c	One mile	= app. 1.6 kilometres
Ten shillings or 10/-	= \$1	Area	
One pound or £1	= \$2	One perch	= app. 25.3 square metres
e.g. £1/11/11	= \$3.20	One rood	= app. 1011.7 square metres
		One acre	= 4046.8 square metres
		2.47 acres	= one hectare

As an indication of the value of the currency during the early 1900s, weekly wages of unskilled workers averaged £2 per week, with skilled and white collar workers averaging £4 per week. Between 1890 and 1910, the salary for public servants ranged from £250 per annum for senior clerks to £750 per annum for a surveyor-general.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CPP</i>	<i>Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers</i>
<i>QGG</i>	<i>Queensland Government Gazette</i>
<i>QPD</i>	<i>Queensland Parliamentary Debates</i>
<i>QPP</i>	<i>Queensland Parliamentary Papers</i>
<i>QSA</i>	<i>Queensland State Archives</i>
<i>VPLAQ</i>	<i>Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly of Queensland</i>



## PREFACE

Conservative and progressive influences, two major but disparate forces, continue to attract the attention of those endeavouring to analyse the dominant elements in Australian history. Conservatism, initially representative of the attitudes of influential pastoralists, eventually encompassed the outlook of the ambitious middle class and many of lower status who aspired to this class. Those of conservative temperament resisted enlightened or progressive thinking, considering it irresponsible and devoted to destabilising society. Even the slightest change caused concern. This concern intensified as progressive forces dedicated to reducing the power of conservatives by securing a greater say in the destiny of the nation, increased their representation in government, or strove to rally support for severing ties with Britain as a precursor to the establishment of a republic.

Even when the ideals of progressive influences were transformed into reality, with improvements in wages and working conditions of skilled workers during the 1880s, or the increase of Labour representation in parliament following the unsuccessful strikes of the 1890s, conservatism remained a dominating influence, sustained in a manner not easily discernible to either conservative or progressive forces. Ironically, it was frequently reinforced by the successful initiatives of the progressive forces, as these initiatives, like their ardent supporters, eventually became an integral part of the conservative influence.

Still, unless a dramatic or significant event occurred, such as the Eureka Stockade, or the Corowa conference which rekindled hopes for federation, little known localities in Australia where conservative rather than progressive influences were imperceptibly at work, received scant attention in the repetitive analysis of problems in Australian history. Conventional historians might consider the less noticeable conservative elements in a local area as not constituting a problem, a claim likely to be refuted by those supportive of progress, or by a community historian examining the extent of change in a region or township.

In analysing the effect of conservatism in a local area, this thesis focuses on the Sherwood Shire located on the fringe of the city of Brisbane. It mainly examines the suburban influences active within the shire between 1891 and 1920. Sherwood, proclaimed a local government area in 1891, originally formed part of the Yeerongpilly Division established by

the Divisional Board Act of 1879, which compulsorily instituted local government to sparsely populated districts of Queensland. This Act, like the Local Government Act of 1878, which established shires in closer populated areas, ensured that local government never threatened the power of the Queensland Government. Notwithstanding, the Queensland Government had little cause for concern that the Sherwood Shire Council on being established would pose such a threat. Like the residents in the adjacent local government areas of Taringa and Stephens, the population of the Sherwood Shire was strongly conservative.

Even so, by the 1890s, various forms of conservatism had emerged in the Sherwood Shire, due initially to the presence of the first inhabitants, the Aborigines, and later because of the agricultural and suburban lifestyles of the white settlers who succeeded them. Conservatism in the shire area was at times characterized by insecurity; conformity; stability; resistance to change; lack of enterprise; and the retention of traditional ideals and familiar institutions. The conservatism of the Aborigines, appeared to be associated with the conservation of their culture, and its unchanging relationship with the land. In the post-Aboriginal era, the influences responsible for the conservative outlook of agriculturalists of British origin who settled locally in the 1860s, differed from those which produced a suburban conservatism among the urban employed residents from the 1890s.

For the agriculturalists, isolation and the adverse effects of the climate instilled a sense of insecurity, while the uncertainties of agriculture eventually led to a lack of enterprise in the type of farming adopted. The soundness of several individual settlers, and the establishment of churches and schools, cultural reminders of the homeland, contributed to stabilising a society dedicated to the traditional ideals of self-help.

Suburban conservatism emerged as an increasing number of the urban employed resided in the shire's subdivided estates. It co-existed with the conservative outlook of the agriculturalists, and eventually became the most dominant. It had as a driving force an influential middle class, whose lifestyle induced stability and conformity among lower status residents domiciled nearby. Moreover, this class assumed key roles in several social and cultural institutions of British origin located within the shire; the membership



comprising mainly suburban residents.

These institutions were of a conservative nature, and often focused on the specific requirements of the shire's suburban areas. Accordingly, local government and the school of arts both demonstrated self-help, and encouraged stability within the suburban community. Although local government responded to suburban needs, at times it lacked enterprise in its operation. Fraternal lodges, along with friendly societies, another self-help entity, discouraged resurgent attitudes, and like sporting organizations induced responsibility and conformity. These attributes received even greater emphasis at local state schools, boy scouts, and in the dogma of Sherwood's protestant churches; the churches particularly dedicated to strengthening family values threatened by urban influences. Consequently, these institutions reinforced the suburban conservatism of the society within the shire's residential areas.

By the early 1900s, local politics reflected the conservative nature of this society, with insecurity the basis of any resistance to individuals or events posing a threat to the accustomed lifestyle. Thus, status, and the residential pattern, and the social and political environment, contributed to the suburban conservatism in the local area, ensuring that conservatism remained a force within the Sherwood Shire.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As most historical works usually involve more than the actions of the writer, the presentation of this thesis resulted from the motivation and stimulation afforded by University of Queensland personnel. Of those concerned, I wish to initially acknowledge the assistance of the supervisor of this thesis, Dr. G.P. Shaw, Reader, History Department, University of Queensland. His advice and criticism regarding the literary, historical and interpretive aspects of this thesis raised the standard of several draft chapters, providing the confidence to continue towards the completion and eventual submission of this work. During the course-work of the local history programme, the instruction provided by Professor J.R. Lavery, Associate Professor W.R. Johnston and Senior Lecturer, Dr. R.D. Fisher, supplied the necessary skills essential to producing a comprehensive yet interpretive analysis of a local area.

Research of this thesis relied on the co-operation of personnel at Queensland Government, public and private institutions. Staff at the Queensland State Archives, John Oxley Library and the history unit of the Queensland State Education Department, facilitated access to a variety of official government sources. Similarly, professional and volunteer staff at public and private institutions allowed research of primary resource material held in their respective libraries and archives. These institutions included the University of Queensland, the Anglican Church, Brisbane Diocese, the Uniting Church in Australia, Grand United Order of Oddfellows, the Loyal Orange Institution of Queensland, Hopeful Masonic Lodge, the Scout Association of Australia, Queensland Branch, and the Brisbane Golf Club.

Residents of the former Sherwood Shire area also offered advice and assistance. These included Gladys Bailey of Oxley, dedicated collector of local historical material, and James Hogan, Sherwood identity, whose retentive memory, impartial comment and extensive knowledge of the area, recaptured several aspects of the activities and outlook of the former shire society. Ron Sendall and Lottie Sendall (Tainton family), William Ferguson (Boyland family), Lona Grantham (Price family), Doris Frost (Strong family) and several members of the Berry family, allowed an insight into the activities of early agricultural and suburban families of the Sherwood Shire.



## INTRODUCTION

In 1891, on the proclamation of the Sherwood Shire\*, a mainly rural area situated on the south-western fringe of Brisbane, the local population still exhibited the conservative outlook developed by pioneer agriculturalists during the 1860s. Between 1891 and 1920, newer residents relying on urban employment, gradually occupied several sub-divided estates in the northern part of the shire. Despite their presence the conservative outlook remained an influential force, although it eventually displayed characteristics indicative of a suburban society. While skilled, unskilled and white collar workers settled locally, this suburban area attracted prominent middle class residents influential in the stable society which emerged. Social activities of British cultural origin supported by a cross-section of the community, contributed to the stability of this society. These activities included membership of local government, school of arts, fraternal lodges, friendly societies and sporting organisations. Primary school education and religious activities already established by local agriculturalists continued as stabilising elements, with religion the principal moral influence.

With the population predominantly protestant, the clergy and congregation of the local Church of England, Presbyterian and Methodist churches, due to their dedicated support for the preservation of family values, ensured the entrenchment of the conservative outlook. Still, one of the clergy, the Reverend J.S. Pollock, long serving Presbyterian minister, while disposed generally towards the conservative ideals of other protestant clergy, exhibited quite a progressive attitude regarding the involvement of the church in industrial disputes. His views eventually led to his resignation from the Presbyterian church.

Between 1912 and 1920, reaction by the Sherwood Shire society to events affecting both Brisbane and Queensland, reflected the conservatism of the local area. The shire responded positively to Premier Digby Denham's handling of the Brisbane General Strike and to Australia's involvement in the Great War. In contrast, during the early years of the Labor government in Queensland, the majority of residents in the suburbanized portion of the shire reacted negatively towards the Labor Party and its socialist initiatives.

\* Although categorized as a division for eleven years, Sherwood will be referred to in this thesis as a shire.



This slice of the Sherwood Shire history, the period from 1891 to 1920, reveals the conservatism of the first generation of suburban residents in the shire. Furthermore, it provides several opportunities to analyse the conservative outlook within a suburban area, particularly its survival, and the reasons such an outlook influenced community reaction to events affecting the local area and Queensland generally. These circumstances motivated the formulation of an hypothesis which allowed a comprehensive analysis of the Sherwood Shire society.

The hypothesis is, that between 1891 and 1920, the conservative outlook developed in the Sherwood Shire by early agriculturalists survived the arrival of a suburban society, but due to influences within this society, a suburban rather than an agricultural conservative outlook emerged. This resulted from the attraction for traditional ideals associated with suburbia, the presence of a middle class, and support for stable institutions of British origin. Consequently, reaction to events occurring between 1912 and 1920, such as the Brisbane General Strike, the Great War, and the Labor Party in government, typified that of a conservative society.

The hypothesis allows the formation of 'suppositions concerning the nature of society and the historical process as a whole'.<sup>1</sup> Rather than be restricted to a parochial view of the Sherwood Shire society, it encourages the analysis of the effect of outside influences. Moreover, the application of the hypothesis counteracts arguments by those who reject the use of theory in historiography, especially if the subjugation of facts resulted in a speculative rather than a comprehensive analysis.<sup>2</sup> When sufficient resource material appeared to support a possible direction, conflicting evidence has been examined to ensure an objective assessment. This approach is consistent with the view that evidence supporting a theory should also be compatible with the weight of the overall evidence.<sup>3</sup>

In supporting the terms of the hypothesis, the aim of this thesis is to analyse the influences which produced a conservative outlook indicative of a suburban society, and, in

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<sup>1</sup> John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*. (London: Longman, 1984), p.128.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, pp.130-131.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p.131.

relation to this outlook examine the reaction to events occurring between 1912 and 1920. In association with this aim, the principal methods of analysis consist of a cultural approach, the use of themes, and research of a wide range of primary, secondary and interpretive resource material.

The adoption of a cultural approach as an analytical method was initially prompted by the observation of Australian historian, R.M. Crawford who maintained that:

Colonial settlements were not, therefore, new communities beginning from nothing. Their people brought with them much invisible luggage, the known ways and the familiar ideas and institutions of another world.<sup>4</sup>

C.Hartley Grattan supported this view by asserting that the British immigrant majority brought 'cultural elements to Australia in their heads'.<sup>5</sup> Both Crawford and Grattan acknowledged that in addition to the effect of immigration, local influences also contributed to cultural development.<sup>6</sup>

The views of Crawford and Grattan can be associated with anthropological theory, partly illustrating the interdisciplinary influence on the writing of local and community history while still maintaining an historical perspective. Anthropologists reveal that cultural influences affect all aspects of life. They acknowledge that these influences because of their complexity frequently overlap, interact and inter-relate, and in the formation of any given society often determine the social structure.<sup>7</sup> When cultural elements are embedded in the social structure, they act as transmitting devices, ensuring the continuation of these elements in future societies.<sup>8</sup> Analysis of the Sherwood Shire society reveals that cultural elements were embedded in the social structure, and that during the period examined, the

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<sup>4</sup> R.M. Crawford, *Australia*. (London: Hutchinsons, 1952), p.11.

<sup>5</sup> C.Hartley Grattan, 'Notes on Australian Cultural History', *Meanjin Quarterly*, 33, 1974, p.234.

<sup>6</sup> Crawford, *Australia*, p.11; Grattan, 'Australian Cultural History', p.233.

<sup>7</sup> Caroline Ware, 'Introduction', *The Cultural Approach to History*. C. Ware, ed. (New York: Gordon Press, 1974), pp. 10,11,20; Geoffrey Gorer, 'Society as Viewed by the Anthropologist' in C. Ware ed., *The Cultural Approach to History*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>8</sup> Grattan, 'Australian Cultural History', p.235; Milton Singer, 'The Social Organization of Indian Civilization', *Diogenes*, 45, 1964, p. 92.



entrenchment of conservative attitudes within the shire's suburban society influenced future generations.

In association with the cultural approach, the main theme of the thesis concentrates on the development and retention of the conservative outlook, and is supported by sub-themes which reveal the social framework and the processes at work within the suburban environment. These sub-themes interact with one another and relate to the development of an agricultural conservatism; the emergence of a suburban conservative outlook; stability of local social activities; moral influences encouraging conformity; and the conservative reaction to events of the early 1900s.

The main chapters of the thesis enlarge on the sub-themes. The first chapter sets the scene for ensuing chapters. It provides a general analysis of the various influences which contributed to the development of a conservative attitude among the local agriculturalists who migrated from Britain during the 1860s and 1870s. The second chapter justifies its length by revealing early in the thesis, the principal influences responsible for the survival of the conservative outlook and the form it assumed within a suburban area located on Brisbane's fringe. This chapter initially focuses on Brisbane as State capital, a major port and an industrial city, as well as its capacity to provide both employment and a reliable suburban transport system. The chapter then analyses the gradual development of suburbs in the Sherwood Shire, the residential pattern of these suburbs, and the formation of status groups, particularly the minority middle class, influential in the adoption of a suburban conservatism.

Chapters three and four examine local social activities of British origin, such as membership of the shire council, school of arts, fraternal lodges, friendly societies and sporting organisations. These activities, administered by the middle class, encouraged character formation and contained social control elements which ensured the continuation of a stable society.

In assessing the effect of moral influences, chapters five and six focus on primary school education, boy scouts, and the dominance of protestant churches ministered by resident clergy. Both chapters disclose how these institutions encouraged conformity and

strengthened the family unit as a social control entity, thus influencing future generations. Also revealed is the lone voice of the Reverend John Pollock and the reaction to his involvement in industrial disputes. Furthermore, chapter six divulges how religion, with middle class support was responsible for the entrenchment of conservatism in the local suburban society.

Chapter seven discloses how several characteristics of the suburbanized portion of the Sherwood Shire resembled those of the legendary Garden of Eden. These are revealed when analysing the over-reaction by local residents to the Brisbane General Strike, the Great War, and the election of a Labor government in Queensland in 1915. This chapter then demonstrates how these characteristics contributed to the manner in which the shire isolated itself from the ideals of the Queensland Labor government, even when this government embraced rural conservatism.

The content of these chapters resulted from researching a substantial amount of material emanating from several sources. This allowed both a qualitative and a quantitative analysis of the shire's suburban society. Research of primary sources included official Queensland Government reports contained in the *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly*, *Parliamentary Papers*, *Parliamentary Debates and Government Gazettes*. Research at the history unit of the State Education Department focused on school readers and school papers used in Queensland's education system during the early 1900s.

*Queensland Electoral Rolls* aided the analysis of both the residential pattern and the formation of status groups in the shire over a period of twenty years. Similar to the analytical methods used in Ronald Lawson's work, *Brisbane in the 1890s*,<sup>9</sup> local residents were categorized according to occupation, status and residential area. This analysis relied on quantifying techniques and mainly concentrated on the occupations and addresses of local residents contained in the electoral rolls of 1894, 1900 and 1915. However, when occupations were sometimes omitted, particularly in the 1894 and 1900 rolls, the *Queensland Post Office Directories* of that era were referred to. These directories included

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<sup>9</sup> Ronald Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*. (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1973), pp.59-63, 103-112.



occupations, but due to the rural nature of the shire, lacked specific residential information. At times the post office directories listed names of residents not recorded on electoral rolls, subsequently where an address and occupation could be ascertained by the author or elderly resident, these were included in the analysis. Still, the electoral rolls constituted the major source, the 1915 roll revealing that the majority of income earners in a family were male, and that most females engaged in domestic duties. While the occupations of male residents indicated the status of each family, information concerning females contributed to another section of the thesis which analysed the place of women in the Sherwood Shire.

As part of the analysis of the residential pattern and formation of status groups, the populated suburbs of the shire were divided into two areas, with one area situated to the west of the Ipswich - Brisbane railway and the other, a much larger area, to the east. The western area was generally considered middle class, and the eastern, mainly working class; the ensuing analysis testing this view. To facilitate this analysis, occupational categories were created from male occupations, and comprised managerial, professional, skilled, unskilled and white collar worker. The occupation of each male resident included in the analysis was categorised and according to the address in the electoral roll, assigned to the relevant area. This revealed the number of males in each occupational category residing either to the east or to the west of the railway.

A further indication of the residential pattern became evident on the allocation of occupational categories to specific status groups: managerial and professional to middle class, skilled and unskilled worker to working class, with the white collar assigned a status of its own. This disclosed the representation of each status group on either side of the railway. Besides it revealed whether the middle class, a minority among the suburban residents of the shire, had the potential to increase its influence throughout the residential area, if supported by those of white collar status.

The year, 1894, was chosen to commence the analysis, as by then the population which had decreased, either because of the 1893 flood or the economic recession, had steadied. During the analysis of the three years selected, 1894, 1900 and 1915, several strategies aided the clarification of difficult to interpret information. A thorough knowledge of the local area by the author and long term residents assisted the allocation to specific

neighbourhoods, several streets which have since experienced a change of name, and vague addresses such as 'fourth on the left past Mitchell's store'. Local survey and real estate maps identified addresses which consisted solely of a residential subdivision and portion number. To reduce the distortive effect produced by the possible inclusion of incorrect information, the largest attainable sample was analysed for each of the three years. The 1915 electoral roll produced the largest sample due to the compulsory enrolment of both males and females twenty one years and over, 90% of whom listed occupations and decipherable addresses. In assisting the analysis of the effect of status groups within the suburbanized portion of the shire, the 1915 roll yielded a substantial sample of 642 males.

Research at the Queensland State Archives and John Oxley Library led to the inclusion of twenty four maps throughout the thesis. Based on the researched material, twenty one of these maps relate to the Sherwood Shire, and were hand-drawn and prepared by the author. Five of the hand-drawn maps depict residential subdivisions and contain contours, physical features and watercourses, thus providing an indication of the type of residential land offered for sale. As the terrain of the local area experienced little change, a map of the Ipswich district printed in 1950 provided information concerning contours and physical features of the former Sherwood Shire. The *Brisbane Flood Map*, published in 1974, revealed the presence and extent of early watercourses.

Research of institutions whose records have not survived, such as the Corinda School of Arts and the Sherwood Shire Council, depended on auditor-general reports, statistics, financial statements and local government announcements in the *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Queensland*, *Queensland Parliamentary Papers* and *Queensland Government Gazettes*. Reports of friendly societies in these publications revealed information concerning defunct local friendly societies like the Sherwood Oak Druids Lodge and the Alliance Rechabites Tent. Newspapers and photographs also provided information concerning these and other institutions whose records are no longer available.

Oral sources assisted the research of previously unrecorded aspects of events concerning both the local area and Queensland generally. In addition, oral sources assisted a project initiated by the author and completed in the mid-1980s by four local residents. This project confirmed the location of 120 tennis courts within the suburbanized portion of the shire



between 1910 and 1930. In disclosing the extent to which residents in the area played tennis, the project also revealed the influence of this sport on the behaviour of its participants.

Secondary sources included local, urban and general histories. *Granny Francis' Book* written in 1906 by local pioneer, Angela Francis, was the earliest local history compiled prior to the publication in 1921 of the *Sherwood Shire Agricultural, Horticultural and Industrial Society, Show Catalogue*. Fifty five pages of this ninety page catalogue focused on the history of the shire area since white settlement. Together with Alexander Francis' *Then and Now*, published in 1935, the above publications remained an important historical resource, until the Sherwood and Oxley State primary schools produced histories relating to their centenaries. These have since been supplemented by local family histories compiled by members of the Tainton, Berry and Sinnamon families. Due to the lack of records, secondary sources aided the research of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Corinda, and several sporting organizations within the shire. In 1921, fire destroyed the records of St. Matthew's Church of England, Sherwood, subsequently, regular reports in the Anglican *Church Chronicle*, provided substantial information concerning the congregation and the administration of St. Matthew's between 1890 and 1920.

Research of interpretative sources concentrated on books and articles written by accredited American, British and Australian historians and social scientists. Several American works disclosed trends in the writing of local and urban history, while British and Australian publications analysed the influence of religion, education and sport on cultural development. Other Australian interpretative works examined political issues affecting Brisbane and Queensland during the early 1900s. This interpretative material, together with the primary and secondary sources already referred to, ensured a comprehensive analysis of the cultural influences prevalent within the suburbanized portion of the Sherwood Shire between 1891 and 1920.

Historiographically, this thesis could be categorised as both a local and an urban history. It avoids the 'antiquarian and parochial' characteristics of traditional local history and refrains from glorifying the past 'in relation to the present'.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, it subscribes

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<sup>10</sup> W.R. Johnston, 'Local History-the World', *The History Teacher*, May 1982, p. 9.

to the theory that local studies should expand their research to include 'patterns of association' beyond the local area and where relevant emphasize links with the State, the nation and the whole world'.<sup>11</sup> This theory is compatible with the observation of American historian, Kathleen Conzen, who considered that the use of a local approach had resulted in revised interpretations of several aspects of her country's history.<sup>12</sup> By the 1970s, American urban historians had recognized that the city was linked to the society around it.<sup>13</sup> Still, uncertainty existed as to whether a local entity like a city, should be considered 'a microcism of life at large'<sup>14</sup> and its history important enough to be ranked with that of conventional history.

Although American anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, when analysing local areas, applied 'continuous dialectical tacking' between local details and global structures, he conceded that despite conscientious application, this resulted only in respectable 'middle range theory'.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, Kathleen Conzen maintained that in an analysis of a local area, allowances should be made for an influential, but often neglected element - 'the locally distinctive'. She considered that one method of uncovering the 'locally distinctive' and thereby create a 'truly local history', lay in the use of comparative studies, particularly historical studies which compared circumstances in a local area with those in the wider context of a city or state.<sup>16</sup> Still, Conzen's theory concerning the capacity of the 'locally distinctive' element could be

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<sup>11</sup> Richard Beeman, 'The New Social History and the Search for "Community" in Colonial America', *American Quarterly*, 29, 1977, p. 422; Johnston, 'Local History-the World', p. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Kathleen N. Conzen, 'Community Studies, Urban History, and American Local History', in *The Past Before Us*. M. Kammen, ed. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1980), pp. 278,288.

<sup>13</sup> Stephen Thermstrom, 'Reflections on the New Urban History', *Daedalus*, Spring, 1971, pp. 361-362; Raymond Mohl, 'The New Urban History and its Alternatives. Some reflections on U.S. Scholarship in the Twentieth Century', *Urban History Year Book*, 1983, pp. 20-21.

<sup>14</sup> Johnston, 'Local History-the World', p. 15.

<sup>15</sup> Beeman, quoting Geertz, 1975, 'The New Social History', *American Quarterly*, vol. 29, 1977, pp. 434,443.

<sup>16</sup> Conzen, 'Community Studies, Urban History, and American Local History' in Kammen, ed., *The Past Before us*, p. 290.



expanded. Depending on the degree and recurrence of the 'locally distinctive' in the dimensions of a wider context, this element would also have the potential to elevate a 'truly local history' to the status of conventional history.

Conzen's theory is supported by recent works such as Kenneth Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontiers* and Lionel Frost's *The New Urban Frontier*. Jackson focused on suburban trends in several American cities, revealing the influences responsible for the development of elite suburbs, railway suburbs and suburbs established between the two world wars.<sup>17</sup> Frost, in his work, analysed the cities of the American west and the capital cities of Australia. He categorized various cities and discussed the distinctive elements in the development and expansion of these cities.<sup>18</sup> Because of the style of their presentation, both works provide easy access to the study of urban history.

A British work, *The Rise of Suburbia*, edited by F.M.L. Thompson, studied three suburban areas in London, and one in Leeds. By 1900, the population of each area numbered in the tens of thousands. One study focused on London's outer western suburbs, and disclosed how a working class population depending on rail transport to the city, motivated the introduction of early morning concessional train fares.<sup>19</sup>

In contrast to urban histories which concentrated on highly developed suburbs, John Stilgoe, in *Borderland*, focused on the commencement of the original fringe suburbs of several American cities. His was a 'visual' study reflecting the suburban ideal, which densely populated suburbs no longer appeared to possess.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontiers*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

<sup>18</sup> Lionel Frost, *The New Urban Frontier: Urbanization and City Building in Australasia and the American West Coast*. (Kensington, N.S.W.: New South Wales University Press, 1991).

<sup>19</sup> F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, St. Martin's Press, 1982), p.133.

<sup>20</sup> John Stilgoe, *Borderland. Origins of the American Suburb. 1820-1939*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 9-11.

In 1982, a new edition of an earlier work by Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Street Car Suburbs*, specifically focused on the American east coast city of Boston. Warner revealed how Boston, 'a walking city' prior to 1860, expanded as street car services were extended to outlying areas, with suburbs rapidly developing along the various routes. As such, this work made a significant contribution to the history of urban transport in America.<sup>21</sup>

In 1899, American demographer, A.F. Weber, revealed that Australia was one of the most urbanized countries in the world.<sup>22</sup> Influenced by Weber's observations, Australian economic historian, Sean Glynn, considered that this distinctive characteristic of settlement in Australia, should have had greater influence on the nation's history.<sup>23</sup> As a result, during the 1970s, the writing of urban history increased,<sup>24</sup> with the emphasis on the distinctive characteristics of Australian cities.

Ronald Lawson's *Brisbane in the 1890s*, revealed how both external and local influences created a conservative outlook which dominated Brisbane society. This allowed him to challenge claims by Russell Ward in *The Australian Legend*, that dominant influences in Australian society emanated from the bush.<sup>25</sup> Weston Bate's *Lucky City*, in emphasizing Ballarat's distinctive regional role, ably blended the 'bottom up' approach representing the grass roots of local society, with the 'top down' principle of conventional history.<sup>26</sup>

*In the Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Graeme Davison analysed the city and

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<sup>21</sup> Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Street Car Suburbs. The Process of Growth in Boston (1870-1900)*. Second edition, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

<sup>22</sup> A.F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, reprint 1963), pp.138-142.

<sup>23</sup> Sean Glynn, *Urbanization in Australian History, 1788-1900*. (Melbourne: Nelson, 1970), pp. 1,2,6.

<sup>24</sup> Graeme Davison, 'Australian Urban History, a Progress Report', *Urban History Year Book*, 1979, pp.105-106.

<sup>25</sup> Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, pp.317-318.

<sup>26</sup> C.T. Stannage, 'Australian Urban History', in *New History - Studying Australian History Today*. G. Osborne and W.F. Mandle, eds. (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1982), p.168.



suburbs of Melbourne during the period, 1884-1894. Davison's 'motors of urban growth and decay', disclosed several distinctive elements in the expansion of this city, particularly the activities of the children of the goldrush generation; the influence of the affluent; and the lifestyles of the middle class and working class. The 'Fall' of this city had wider implications, as it was attributed to the economic depression which effected most Australian colonies during the early 1890s. Davison's work ended with a brief challenge to Ward's 'Bush Legend'.<sup>27</sup>

Peter Spearitt in his work, *Sydney Since the 1920s*, used housing development to reveal an entrenched class structure in Sydney's suburbs; a circumstance which could be extended to the State and to the nation.<sup>28</sup> While Davison considered trains not so conducive to the development of some outer Melbourne suburbs, Spearitt maintained that the extension of the railway was of greater benefit to the expansion of Sydney's outer suburbs than had previously been acknowledged.<sup>29</sup>

The 1970s also saw the publication of a comprehensive analysis of an inner Sydney suburb. Max Kelly's *Paddock Full of Houses*, highlighted the distinctiveness of Paddington as Sydney's first commuter suburb, and associated its progress with events important to the history of New South Wales, such as the building boom, urban expansion, immigration and the vagaries of the Australian economy.<sup>30</sup>

C.T. Stannage, provided a further indication of the urban history trend in Australia. His work, *The People of Perth* reflected the criteria of other urban works: topography; transport; the price of subdivided land; suburban status; and local industry. These elements provided Perth and its suburbs with a distinctive appearance and character. Moreover, this work highlighted another recurring theme: the consequences arising from the 'acquisition,

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<sup>27</sup> Graeme Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*. (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1978), p.15.

<sup>28</sup> Peter Spearitt, *Sydney Since the 1920s*. (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1978), preface and p.34; Stannage, 'Australian Urban History', p.171.

<sup>29</sup> Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, p.160; Spearitt, *Sydney Since 1920s*, p.10.

<sup>30</sup> Max Kelly, *Paddock Full of Houses*. (Sydney: Doak Press, 1978), pp.7,77.

maintenance and exercise of power.<sup>31</sup>

Most of the above works revealed the effect of urban transport, and the influences responsible for the formation of social structures. Still, the usefulness to this thesis of some of these works, varied. Stilgoe, in portraying the suburban ideal, an ideal particularly associated with residential expansion in the Sherwood Shire, chose to ignore the practicalities of 'financial underpinnings', 'religious' influences and 'family' lifestyles. Davison's minimal analysis of local government, sport and religion, proved less useful than the comprehensive examination of these elements by Spearitt and Lawson. Stannage referred to family values, social control and conservatism, but Lawson analysed these distinctive elements in greater detail. Although each of the above works differed according to their focus and the peculiarities of the area under analysis, the content of these works often revealed wider implications.

In similar vein, this thesis demonstrates how distinctive elements within the Sherwood Shire contributed to the development of a conservative outlook, resembling that of Brisbane and Queensland generally, yet exhibiting characteristics peculiar to residence in the local area. These distinctive characteristics include the shire's location on the fringe of the Brisbane metropolitan area, gradual residential development reflecting the traditional ideals of suburbia, and the positive response by those of lower status to the influence of the minority middle class. Furthermore, the strong religious presence ensured conformity and the entrenchment of a suburban conservatism, isolating the shire area from the ideals of a Labor government embracing rural conservatism.

From a comprehensive cultural analysis of a local area during a selected period, this thesis reveals the development of a suburban society within the Sherwood Shire, and the reaction of this society to events affecting both the local area and the world beyond. In utilising social scientific techniques in support of traditional historical methods, the work examines various aspects of the conservative outlook and its influence on the shire society. Subsequently, due to the availability of substantial primary, secondary and interpretative sources, an urban history emerged. In acknowledging the influence of the outside world,

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<sup>31</sup> C.T. Stannage, *The People of Perth. A Social History of West Australia's Capital City*. (Perth, W.A.: Perth City Council, 1979), pp. 8, 11, 85.

and highlighting the distinctiveness of the local area, it demonstrates the potential of local history to assume the status and importance of conventional history.





## CHAPTER 1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATISM

During the 1820s, references by white explorers to several prominent physical features within the future Sherwood Shire, foreshadowed change in the sole use of this area by local Aborigines. The fertile flood plains and low hills adjacent to the Brisbane River and its main tributary, Oxley Creek, influenced the development of white settlement. A general survey of settlement in the area prior to suburbanization, reveals that white immigrant settlers persevered as they engaged in a variety of agricultural activities. From 1860, due to the agricultural influence a stable society emerged, dedicated to the retention of traditions associated with the British origins of the local population.

The future Sherwood Shire encompassed an area of twenty two square miles. Its most northerly feature, Oxley Point, lay on the Brisbane River, five miles directly to the south-west of Brisbane. To reach this point by way of the meandering Brisbane River, necessitated a journey of twelve miles. The northern and western boundaries of the future shire followed the Brisbane River from the mouth of Oxley Creek in the north-east, to Woogaroo Creek in the south-west. Oxley Creek formed the eastern boundary.<sup>1</sup> The area adjacent to this creek was generally known as the Oxley Creek district. The southern boundary of the future shire proceeded in a south-easterly direction from the upper reaches of Oxley Creek to a point approximately one mile above the mouth of Woogaroo Creek.<sup>2</sup> The boundary then followed this creek downstream to its junction with the Brisbane River.<sup>3</sup> (Map 1, p.12)

Although a convenient boundary, the Brisbane River proved both a beneficial and an adverse influence. In 1823, John Oxley's exploration of the river revealed several features which would affect the activities and progress of future settlement. Between the mouths of Oxley Creek and Woogaroo Creek, the river varied in depth. (Map 1, p.12) While some sections sounded at four to five fathoms, Oxley recorded seven to eight fathoms along

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<sup>1</sup> Proclamation, Division of Sherwood, *Queensland Government Gazette*, (QGG), vol. 52, no. 25, 24 Jan. 1891, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*



several reaches.<sup>4</sup> A recent analysis supporting Oxley's survey, considers that the river then closely resembled a flight of stairs, deep rapids separating narrower but deeper beds.<sup>5</sup> Often deeper areas occurred where the river narrowed at bends, and the outer bank rose sharply from the waters edge. Oxley's chart reveals shallower areas close to the mouths of Oxley and Wolston Creeks, Termination Island, Seventeen Mile Rocks, or where the river widened. Consequently, the tide which then rose at least four feet six inches, remained an important influence on the future use of the river for transportation.<sup>6</sup>

During the 1820s, convicts used the river to convey limestone from Limestone Hill (Ipswich) to the penal settlement at Brisbane. From 1842, until the railway bridged the river at Oxley Point in 1876, the river served as a regular means of transport between Brisbane and Ipswich. For shipping entrepreneurs, like John Boyland and James Reid, the Seventeen Mile Rocks caused delays to laden vessels until the tide rose sufficiently. In 1847, the wrecking of a vessel at this locality led to the conversion of one of the rocks into a navigational aid.<sup>7</sup> From the 1860s, local selectors transported produce by river to Ipswich and Brisbane. Selector, Alexander Boyd, recalled how the tide influenced the lifestyle of these early agriculturalists.

After a hard day's work felling timber... they would have tea about 7 pm and start off with the boat to market. Having unloaded... they would catch the next tide, (and) often get back in time for breakfast.<sup>8</sup>

The river also contributed to relieving the isolation for pioneering agriculturalists, as the steamer, 'The Fairy', provided a daily service between Brisbane and Oxley Point until 1875,

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<sup>4</sup> 'Oxley, field books', in J.G. Steele, *Explorers of Moreton Bay District 1770-1830*. (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1983), pp. 113,114.

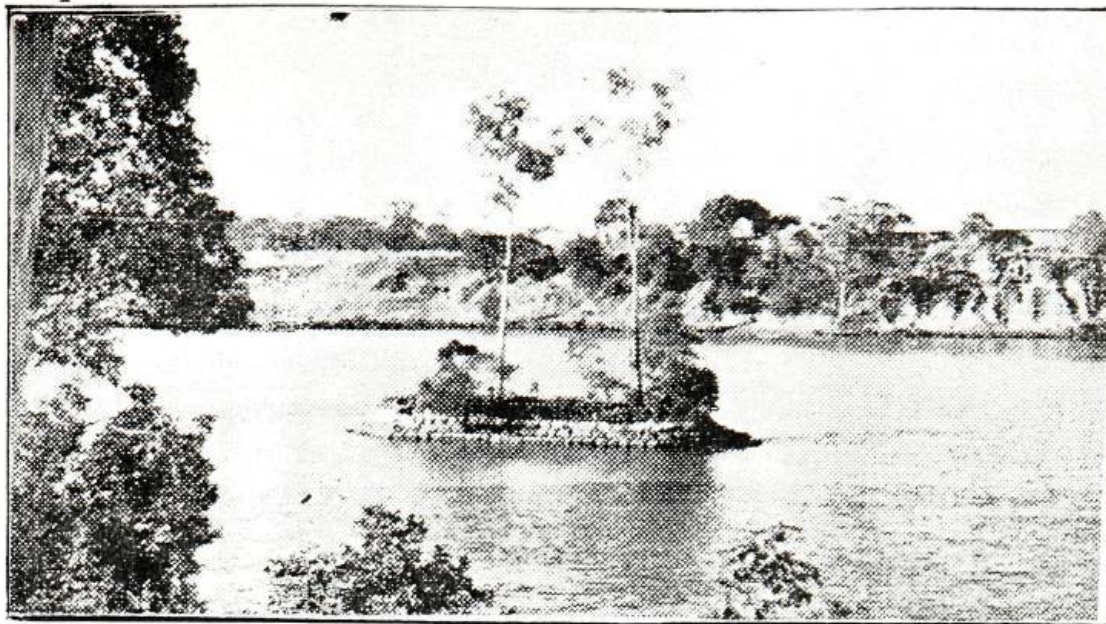
<sup>5</sup> Gerald Sargent, 'A Geological History of the Brisbane River', *Brisbane History Group Papers*, no. 3, 1985, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> 'Oxley, Report/29 Nov. - 6 Dec. 1823', in Steele, *Explorers, Moreton Bay*, p. 120.

<sup>7</sup> C.V. Abrahams, ed., *Sherwood District Centenary Celebrations, 1867-1967*. (Sherwood, Q.: Sherwood District Weekly, 1967), pp. 10,49.

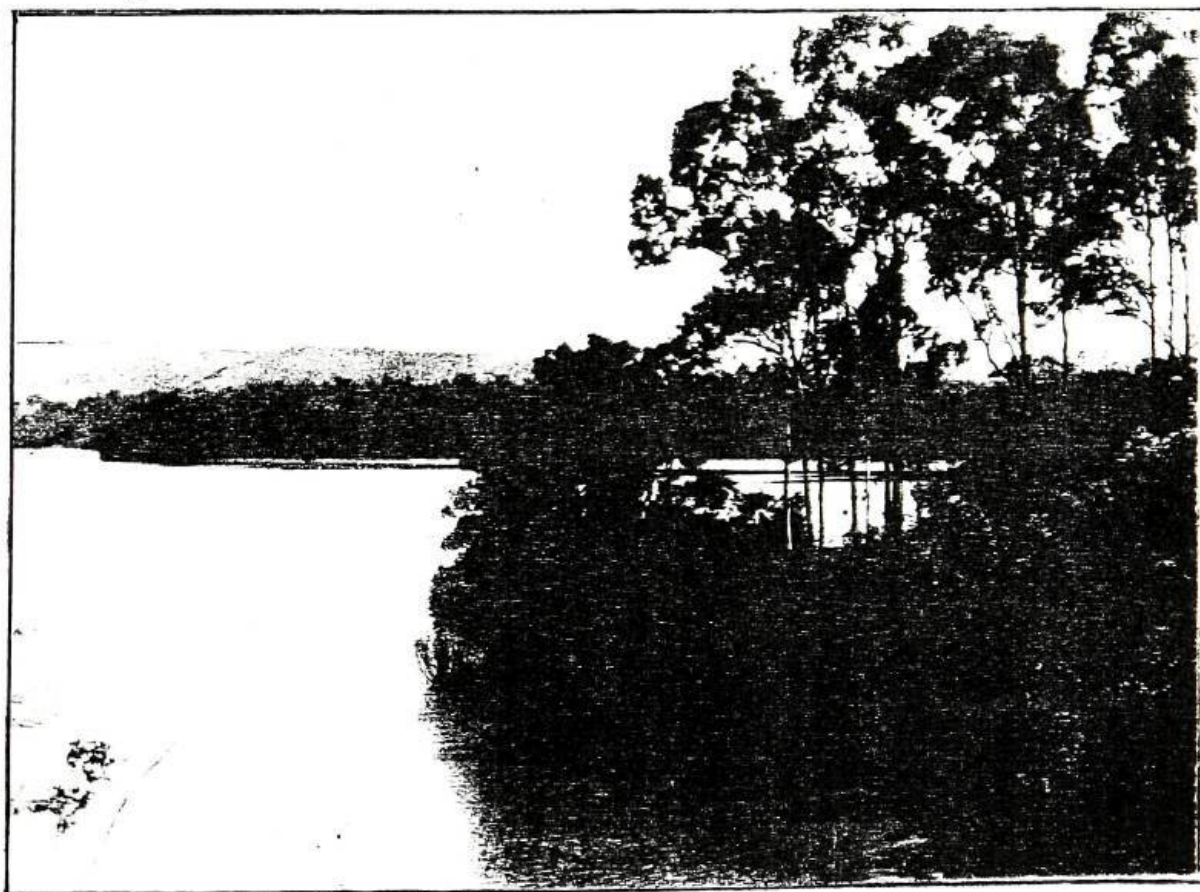
<sup>8</sup> A.J. Boyd, 'Reminiscences of Oxley', in *Sherwood Shire Agricultural, Horticultural and Industrial Society, Souvenir Catalogue*, first annual show, p. 38.





One of the Seventeen Mile Rocks converted by  
convicts into a navigational aid. page 14

(C.V. Abrahams, Sherwood Centenary, p.49)



Mouth of Oxley Creek, where the 'ticket of leave'  
castaways found two native canoes, 1823. page 17

(G.M. Bailey historical collection, 1959)



when 'The Fairy' sank after colliding with another vessel.<sup>9</sup>

From the 1860s, white settlement experienced the destructive nature of the Brisbane River and its tributaries. In 1863, a flash flood inconvenienced new selectors, with several, like the Francis family, suffering the loss of belongings and equipment.<sup>10</sup> Alexander Boyd who farmed twenty acres of leased land on Oxley Creek between 1864 and 1870, commented on the common occurrence of high floods. He cited one, probably that of 1864, which covered the Oxley Creek flats with nineteen feet of water, causing considerable loss of field and harvested crops, including maize and potatoes.<sup>11</sup>

The 1893 flood peaked forty eight feet above the low tide mark at the Oxley Creek mouth, while upstream on the creek flats, the water rose twenty to thirty feet.<sup>12</sup> (Map 12, p.74) Oxley Creek enters the river against the flow, which probably prevented the flood waters escaping. The flooded Brisbane River swept away houses, outbuildings and farm animals; the force of the water destroying the railway bridge at Oxley Point.

There was a great crash and a roar like thunder and one of the 80 ft spans of the bridge canted over downstream and disappeared under the seething flood. ... At 1 pm the 160 ft span... was seen to move... downstream... (and) fell over into that great surging mass of water.<sup>13</sup>

As the waters subsided, tragedy occurred near the remnants of the bridge, when an unstable terrace formed by sand deposited on the bank by the flood, collapsed, burying and suffocating two children. In time, the river created a beach at this spot, known locally as The Sands. It became a popular swimming area as residents cooled off in the clear waters

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<sup>9</sup> Margery Brier-Mills, *The Romance of the Bremer*. (Ipswich: Historical Society of Ipswich, 1982), p.26.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander Francis, *Then and Now*. (London: Chapman Hall, 1935), pp. 6,7.

<sup>11</sup> Oxley Creek farmers committee flood report, Queensland State Archives, (QSA), COL/A53, 64/1077; Boyd, 'Reminiscences of Oxley', pp. 39,40.

<sup>12</sup> G.M. Bailey, *Oxley State School Centenary, 1870-1970*. (Oxley, Q.: The State School, 1970), p.8; map, Greater Brisbane Area inundated by the 1893 flood, in Report of the Commissioner for Irrigation and Water Supply, *Queensland Parliamentary Papers (QPP)*, 1928, vol. 2, pp. 751-2.

<sup>13</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 6 February, 1893, p. 3.

of the river.<sup>14</sup>

The river could also be considered a barrier, which three shipwrecked and disoriented 'ticket of leave' convicts, Pamphlet\*, Finnegan and Parsons experienced in June 1823. The three, on walking north in the direction of what they thought to be Sydney, were diverted by the river to the mouth of Oxley Creek.<sup>15</sup> The discovery of two native canoes relieved their predicament, as they used one to cross the river and journey downstream.<sup>16</sup> In December 1823, John Oxley named the creek Canoe River in recognition of the discovery,<sup>17</sup> but this waterway usually carried the name of Oxley's Creek. After white settlement, the river remained a barrier to agriculturalists without access to river transport, forcing them to convey their produce overland to South Brisbane, where ferries, and from 1865 to 1869, a bridge provided the means to cross the river to Brisbane's business area on the north side. In the mid-1870s, the installation of a vehicular ferry between Oxley Point and the north bank of the river at Indooroopilly, contributed to removing the barrier effect of this river for local agriculturalists. (Map 5, p.30)

While the Brisbane River benefited some agriculturalists located in its vicinity, the adverse influence of this waterway would have had a lasting effect on most of the local population. A recent observation concerning this usually tranquil river, considers that the disastrous flooding constituted a dramatic reminder of the ultimate relationship between the human and natural environment.<sup>18</sup> Subsequently, such a relationship contributed to the formation of certain attitudes amongst those residing in the future Sherwood Shire area. The destructive effects of flooding over four decades, together with the sense of semi-isolation

\* Spelt as reported in Steele's *Explorers, Moreton Bay*, p.51, footnote 1.

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<sup>14</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 10 February, 1893, p. 5; Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p. 49.

<sup>15</sup> 'Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet, 7-30 June 1823', in Steele's *Explorers, Moreton Bay*, p. 69.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> 'Oxley, field books/3 Dec. 1823', in Steele's *Explorers, Moreton Bay*, p. 113; see also H.C.C. Sparkes, transcription, John Oxley field book no. 8, John Oxley Library.

<sup>18</sup> Rod Fisher, 'Locating the People of Brisbane in Time and Space', *Brisbane History Group Papers*, no. 2, 1983, p. 43.



generated by the barrier effect of the river, probably created a feeling of insecurity within the local community, so that these unsettling elements influenced the outlook which emerged.

In addition to the waterways, the adjoining land mass affected the attitude and lifestyle of those who inhabited the area. Several hills, part of a system of low ridges extending from Spring Mountain sixteen miles to the south-west, ranged from one hundred to two hundred feet in height. Two of these hills which would dominate the future residential suburbs of Corinda and Oxley, lay near a bend of the river just downstream from Seventeen Mile Rocks. From the slopes of these hills, several seasonal streams coursed eastwards and entered Oxley Creek. Associated with these streams were swamps and lagoons. The largest swamp, prior to reclamation, was situated south of Oxley Point in present day Chelmer. The hills and ridges close to the southern boundary of the future shire fed other streams which found their way to the Brisbane River. These included Bullock Head Creek and Sandy Creek which combined to form Wolston Creek. (Map 1, p.12)

On the summit of several hills, red and yellow clay intermingled with shaley rock and patches of sandstone. In places the rock broke the surface. Large deposits of clay on a ridge between the future suburbs of Darra and Oxley lured a family brick making firm to the area during the 1890s, providing local employment. (Reference C3, Map 1, p.12)

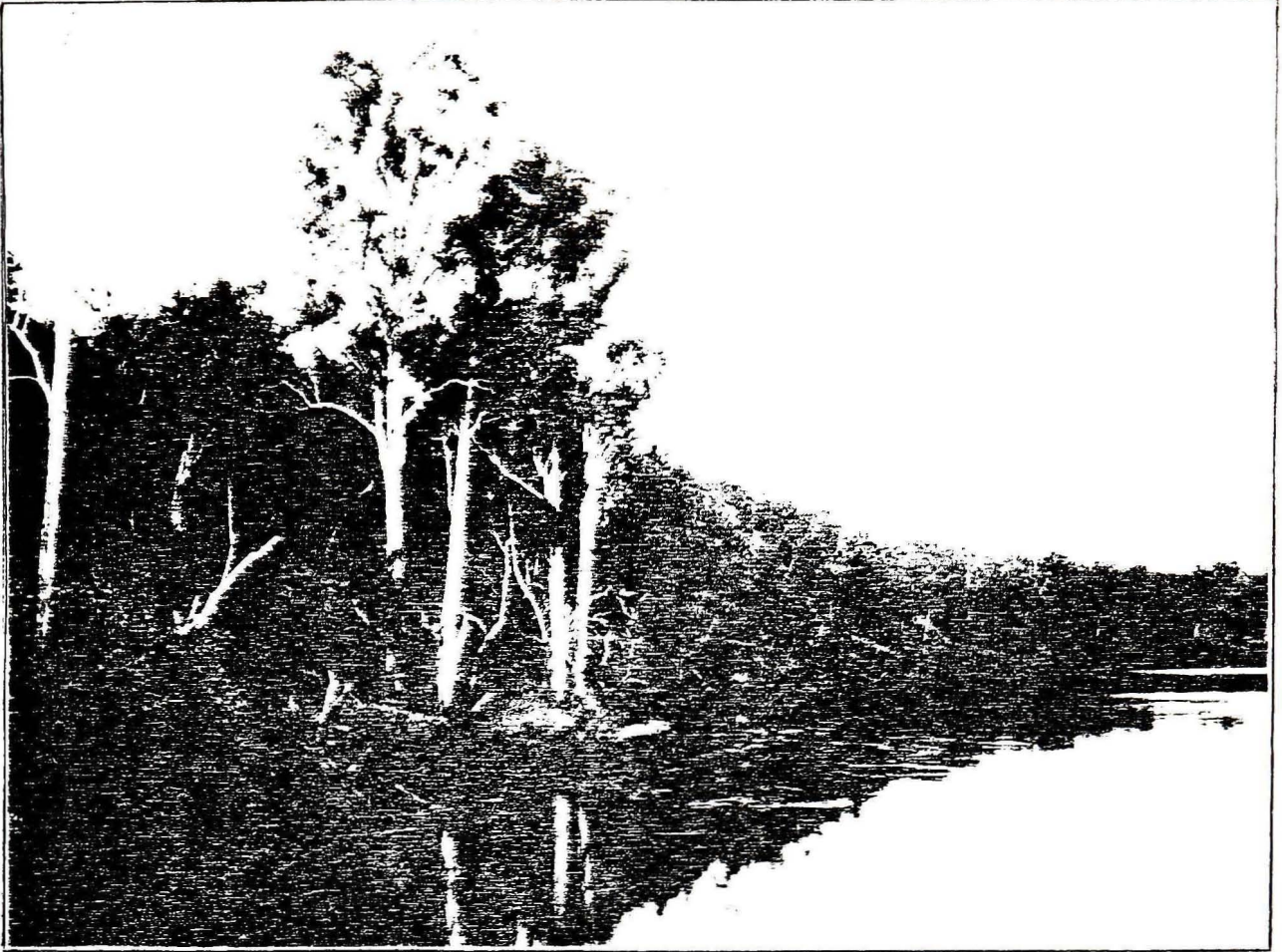
Explorers and early selectors recorded detailed descriptions of the original flora of the area. Oxley's account of the 'rich brush' along the river, was confirmed by the settlers of the 1860s who referred to the dense scrub which clothed the river and creek banks.<sup>19</sup> Giant fig trees grew abundantly.<sup>20</sup> Upstream from Seventeen Mile Rocks adjacent to a reach of the river, which Oxley named Mermaid Reach, after his cutter, 'The Mermaid', vines matted the scrub, testing the ingenuity and perseverance of the Sinnamon family as

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<sup>19</sup> 'Oxley field books', in Steele, *Explorers, Moreton Bay*, pp. 113-115; Boyd, 'Reminiscences of Oxley', p. 37.

<sup>20</sup> 'Fraser, Journal/7-11 July 1828', in Steele, *Explorers, Moreton Bay*, p. 233; Francis *Then and Now*, p. 5.



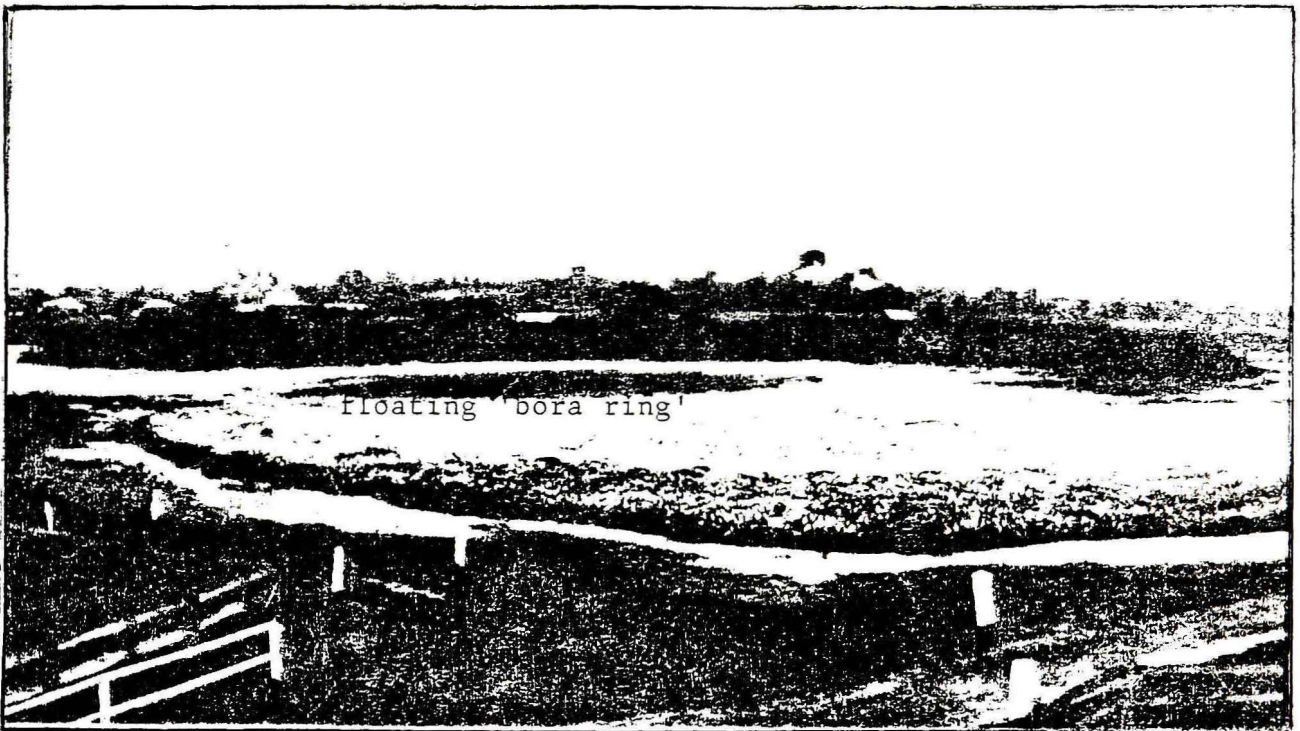


Thick scrub, Francis selection on Brisbane River, mid-1860s.

page 18

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(A. Francis, Then and Now, p.4)



Swamp at Chelmer with floating 'bora ring'.

Photo taken prior to World War II. page 21

(C.V. Abrahams, Sherwood Centenary, p.46)



they cleared the land.<sup>21</sup>

Centuries of decaying matter from dense scrub and tall timber contributed to the fertile soil which overlay the clay on the Brisbane River and Oxley Creek flats.<sup>22</sup> The top soil extended at least two feet below the surface, its colour varying from dark brown to red. However, the less fertile flats adjacent to the middle reaches of Bullock Head Creek and Sandy Creek, proved less attractive to future agriculturalists, as this area had not experienced Brisbane River flooding. Due to centuries of flash flooding, the result of heavy rain at their source in a nearby sandstone ridge, both creeks had deposited extensive amounts of sand and gravel along their banks.<sup>23</sup> (Map 1, p.12)

Prior to white settlement, the natural features of the area had influenced the lifestyle of the local Aborigines. Aborigines frequenting the waterways and land mass belonged to the Jagarra tribe. Their habitat lay along the Brisbane River, extending westwards almost to the Great Dividing Range. Unlike the white settler who designated the river and creek as boundaries, local Aborigines considered these waterways central to their existence. They referred to the land on either side of Oxley Creek as Bennawarra. The swamps and seasonal streams teeming with wild life attracted a section of the tribe known as Yerongapan.<sup>24</sup>

The report of ticket of leave convicts, Pamphlet, Finnegan and Parsons, which recorded the discovery in 1823 of two native canoes at the mouth of Oxley Creek, provided the first evidence of an Aboriginal presence.<sup>25</sup> Twice during 1823, Oxley sighted 'natives' above

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<sup>21</sup> H.V. Sinnamon, *A Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*. (Seventeen Mile Rocks, Q.: H. Sinnamon, 1980), p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> A.J. Boyd, 'Reminiscences of Oxley', p. 37.

<sup>23</sup> Own observations during the digging of foundations for local buildings; *Ipswich survey map*, one mile series, sheet no. 192, zone 8, Royal Australian Survey Corps, 1950.

<sup>24</sup> N. Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*, vol. I. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 41,169; J.G. Steele, *Aboriginal Pathways in South East Queensland and the Richmond River*. (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1984), pp. 121-2,136,137.

<sup>25</sup> 'Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet', Steele, *Explorers, Moreton Bay*, p.69.



the Mermaid Reach of the river.<sup>26</sup> Occasionally, white contact with Aborigines led to clashes. In 1828, at Seventeen Mile Rocks, Aborigines attacked a boat travelling from Limestone Hill, Ipswich, killing a soldier and a convict.<sup>27</sup> In 1832, Aborigines massacred a convict fishing party on the Brisbane River, probably close to the mouth of Oxley Creek.<sup>28</sup>

By the 1860s, hostilities had ceased in the local area. Even when Aborigines occasionally removed settlers belongings,<sup>29</sup> a friendly attitude still prevailed between whites and blacks.<sup>30</sup> White settlers were permitted to witness a corroboree near Oxley Creek, in which six hundred Aborigines participated.<sup>31</sup> Still, some selectors on Mermaid Reach failed to appreciate the significance of a corroboree and were unimpressed by the repetitive movements of corroborees held in this area.<sup>32</sup>

Early selectors revealed other evidence of Aboriginal use of the land. They referred to a circular floating island in the large swamp south of Oxley Point as a 'bora ring'.<sup>33</sup> Although the Aborigines probably considered the island to have some form of spiritual significance, white settlers may have incorrectly designated it a bora ring. Early selectors also reported the presence of other 'bora rings' near the Anglican cemetery overlooking Oxley Creek, Sherwood, and on the site of the Corinda railway station.<sup>34</sup> A tree, with

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<sup>26</sup> 'Oxley, field books/3 Dec. 1823', Steele, *Explorers, Moreton Bay*, pp. 113-114; also Sparkes, transcription, John Oxley field notes.

<sup>27</sup> A. Meston, *A Geographic History of Queensland*. (Brisbane: Government Printer, 1895), p. 53.

<sup>28</sup> C. Bateson, *Patrick Logan*. (Sydney: Ure Smith, 1966), p. 160.

<sup>29</sup> Francis, *Then and Now*, p.8.

<sup>30</sup> Mrs C. Bode, *Chelmer through the Years*, typescript, 1973, John Oxley Library, p.2.

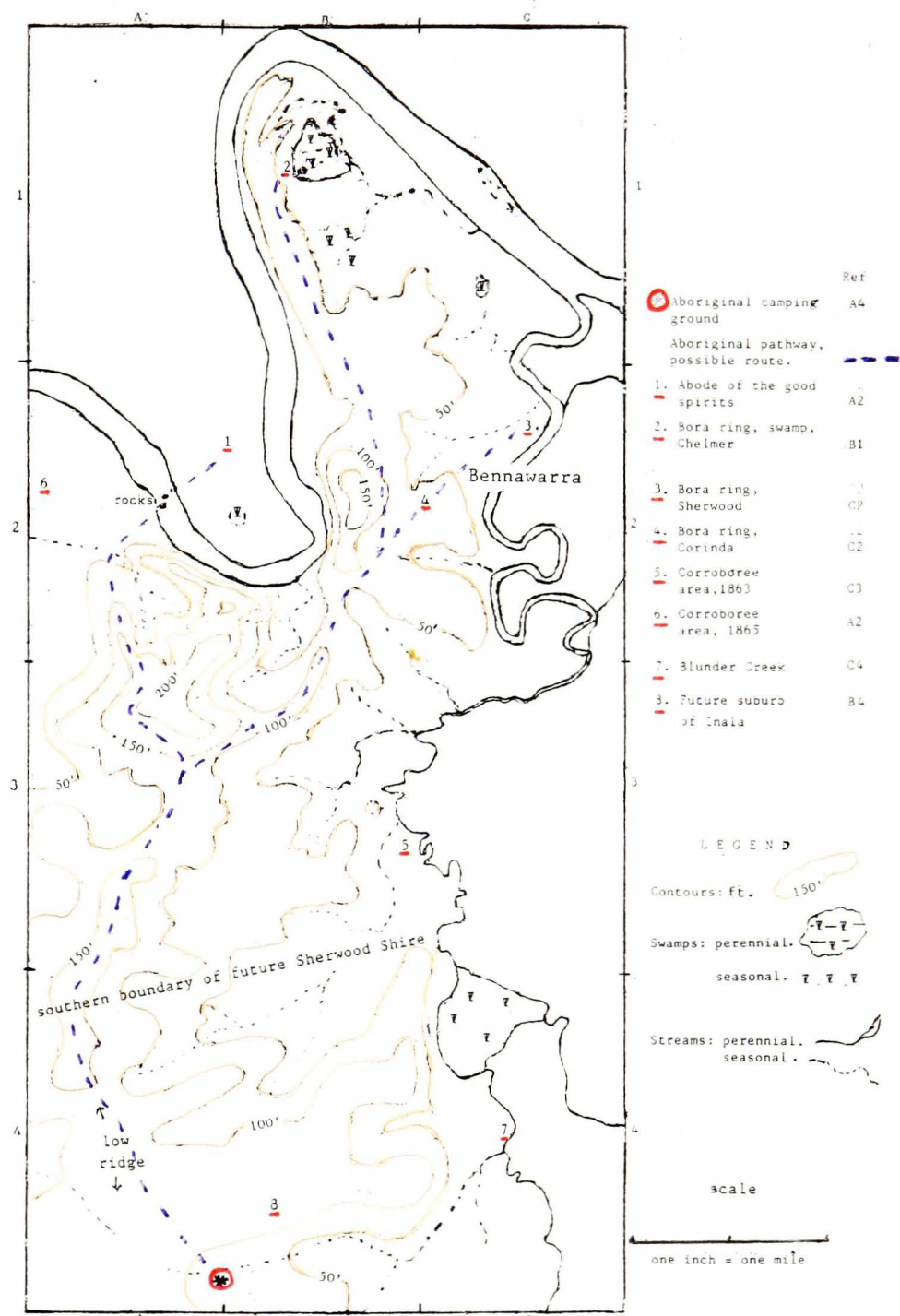
<sup>31</sup> J. Moffatt, 'Reminiscences of Sherwood', *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p. 43.

<sup>32</sup> Sinnamon, *A Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, p. 57.

<sup>33</sup> Local knowledge. See floating island, photograph 4, p.19.

<sup>34</sup> D. Collyer and P. Byrnes, eds., *Sherwood State School Centenary Souvenir History*. (Sherwood, Q.: The Publications Committee, Sherwood State School and District Centenary Celebrations, 1967), p. 26; Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmers Paradise*, p. 57.

Map 2  
ABORIGINAL CAMPING GROUND AND ASSOCIATED FEATURES,  
SHERWOOD SHIRE AREA AND ADJACENT HINTERLAND.



Source: Satellite, 26 Oct. 1986; South West News, 2 Nov. 1988;  
H. Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmers Paradise*, p. 57;  
D. Collyer and P. Byrnes, eds. *Sherwood School Centenary*, p. 26.  
J. Moffatt, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, 2-4.  
Map, Ipswich 1 mile series, no. 192, zone 8, 2nd edition, 1950.



bark removed probably to construct a canoe or a shield, still stands in the Corinda high school grounds. Moreover, anthropologists consider that indentations in the river rocks above Mermaid Reach, close to where Oxley sighted Aborigines in 1823, were caused by the sharpening of stone axes.<sup>35</sup> (Map 1, p.12, Map 2, p.22)

A mile and a half beyond the southern boundary of the Sherwood Shire, spearheads and other Aboriginal artifacts were recently discovered on land belonging to the Roman Catholic Church in the Brisbane suburb of Inala. The discovery suggests that because of the convenient location, Aborigines may have used the area as a regular campsite. (Map 2, p.22) Close by a seasonal stream once ran eastwards to a possible food source, swamp land adjacent to freshwater Blunder Creek. The seasonal stream had its source on the east side of a low ridge a quarter of a mile to the west of where the artifacts were discovered. As the ridge extended northwards towards the Brisbane River, it increased in height. To Aborigines camped near the seasonal stream, this ridge would have acted as a pathway through open forest above the thick scrub on the lowlands to the east. One branch of the ridge led to the bora rings in the vicinity of Oxley Creek and to the large swamp near Oxley Point. The ridge also branched towards the Seventeen Mile Rocks on the Brisbane River. At low tide these rocks provided an easy crossing to Fig Tree Pocket, known to local Aborigines as 'Biami Yumba', the 'abode of the good spirits'.<sup>36</sup> (Map 2, p.22)

It has been considered that during early settlement in Australia, it mattered little whether the white man meant well or not, the cultural differences between the whites and blacks, precluded either race from comprehending each others actions.<sup>37</sup> Although cultural differences existed within the Oxley Creek district, circumstances unrealized at the time, revealed similar thinking between the two races. This occurred partly due to the influence

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<sup>35</sup> Local knowledge; 'Archaeological discovery at River Hills to be protected', *Oxley Village News*, 3 Sept. 1986, p. 2; Peter K. Lauer, 'Mi-An-Jin, Re-creation of Lifeways on the Brisbane River', *Brisbane History Group Papers*, 5, 1987, p. 11.

<sup>36</sup> *Satellite*, 26 Oct. 1986, p.6; significance of the campsite and nearby ridge, conjecture by the author; report in the *South West News*, 2 Nov. 1988, p. 1, by Jagarra tribal elder, Neville Bonner, designated 'Biami Yumba' as the Aboriginal name for the 'abode of the good spirits'.

<sup>37</sup> P. Biskup, 'Aboriginal History', in *New History. Studying Australia Today*. G. Osborne and W. Mandle, eds. (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1982), p. 29.



of the physical and natural environment. The river and creek flats, a regular food source for a hunter-gatherer society like the Aborigines, performed a similar function when cultivated by the white agricultural community. The hilltops and ridges, a lesser food source for both cultures, served as a pathway for Aborigines avoiding the dense scrub, while future suburban residents avoiding the closely populated inner city, would consider the heights above the flood-prone river and creek flats ideal for the construction of homes.

Because of the manner in which Europeans occupied the land and dispersed Australia's original inhabitants, the white presence is seen by some as a supplanting society, rather than the traditionally acknowledged settler society, implying that one culture had been effectively removed by the other.<sup>38</sup> Even though the Aborigines may have been supplanted by the economic and social activities of white settlement, a conservative attitude, characteristic of both Aboriginal and European culture, would linger in the Sherwood Shire. The Aboriginal lifestyle, due to its intimate association with the land, and the effect of cultural influences unchanged for centuries, had been inherently conservative in nature. The conservatism of the new white settlers would be influenced by similar circumstances. As agriculturalists closely associated with the land, their lifestyle would continue to be moulded by the customs and practices embedded in the culture of their own country of origin.

The white man first exploited the local area during the convict era, extracting pine and other building material. Between 1825 and 1829, convicts quarried a portion of a hill, now known as Corinda Hill, and removed sandstone which they used in the construction of the commissariat and windmill in the penal colony.<sup>39</sup> In 1851, nearly ten years after free settlement had been declared, Thomas Boyland leased 4040 acres of land west of the middle reaches of Oxley Creek. Here he grazed cattle and sheep. Eventually, the area between

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<sup>38</sup> David Day, 'Aliens in a Hostile Land. A Re-appraisal of Australian History', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 23 Nov. 1988, p.3.

<sup>39</sup> Constance C. Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland*. (Sth. Yarra, Vic.: Lloyd O'Neil, 1981), p.247; extract, R. Gibbons, 'Ten historic buildings' in J.G. Steele, *Brisbane Town in Convict Days, 1824-1842*, (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1975), p. 68; verbal information from the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, June 1986.

present day Oxley and Chelmer became known as Boyland's Pocket.<sup>40</sup> Following the proclamation of Queensland as a self-governing colony in 1859, Boyland declined to purchase land west of Oxley Creek, preferring to settle on a holding east of this creek.<sup>41</sup> In May 1860, the government subdivided the land in the northern part of Boyland's Pocket into 25 portions. Each portion averaged 60 acres and initially sold for £1 an acre. This area eventually became known as Oxley West. Between 1861 and 1864, 96 portions of land, each averaging 25 to 30 acres, were offered for sale in the southern part of Boyland's Pocket in an area generally known as Oxley.<sup>42</sup> (Map 3, p.26)

In 1851, Lands Commissioner, Dr. Stephen Simpson leased 5,500 acres of land in the south-western section of the future Sherwood Shire.<sup>43</sup> In the same year he purchased 640 acres of this land. Here he erected his home 'Wolston House', near a perennial stream now known as Wolston Creek. By 1855, after purchasing several of his former leases, as well as other land in the vicinity, Simpson increased his holding to 2000 acres. After using the property as a horse stud, he returned to England in 1860. This followed the death of his nephew, James Ommaney, killed when thrown from a horse while riding on the Wolston property. A hill close to where the fatality occurred is now known as Mt. Ommaney.<sup>44</sup> (Map 1, p.12) Grazier, Matthew Goggs senior, purchased Simpson's holding, and enlarged it by acquiring several adjoining selections subdivided by the government. Goggs used the holding for fattening cattle transferred from his pastoral properties at Chinchilla.<sup>45</sup> (Goggs holding, Map 4, p.27)

Following the subdivision of Boyland's Pocket by the Queensland Government, the

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<sup>40</sup> Sale of leases of Crown Land, *New South Wales Government Gazette*, vol. 30, no. 137, 5 December 1851, p. 2027; Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, pp. 9,10.

<sup>41</sup> Map, Parish of Oxley, County of Stanley, QSA, AG3, 4B, 1890.

<sup>42</sup> *QGG*, vol. 1, no. 18, 12 April 1860, p. 136; map, Parish of Oxley, County of Oxley, QSA, AG3, 4B, 1890.

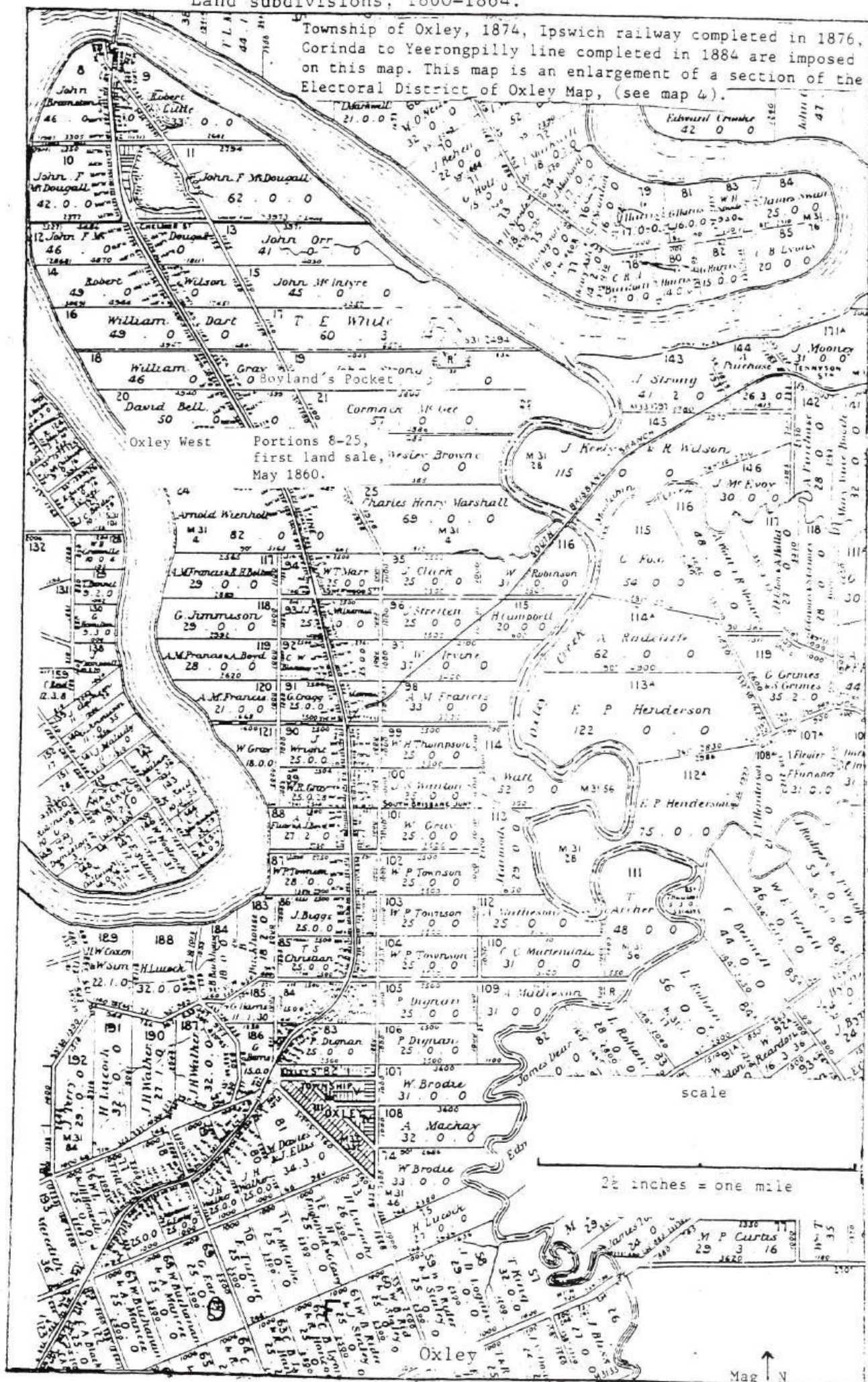
<sup>43</sup> Sale of leases of Crown Land, *New South Wales Government Gazette*, vol. 30, no. 137, 5 December 1851, p. 2027.

<sup>44</sup> Sir Raphael Cilento, *The Story of Wolston House*. (Brisbane: National Trust, 1970), p.10.

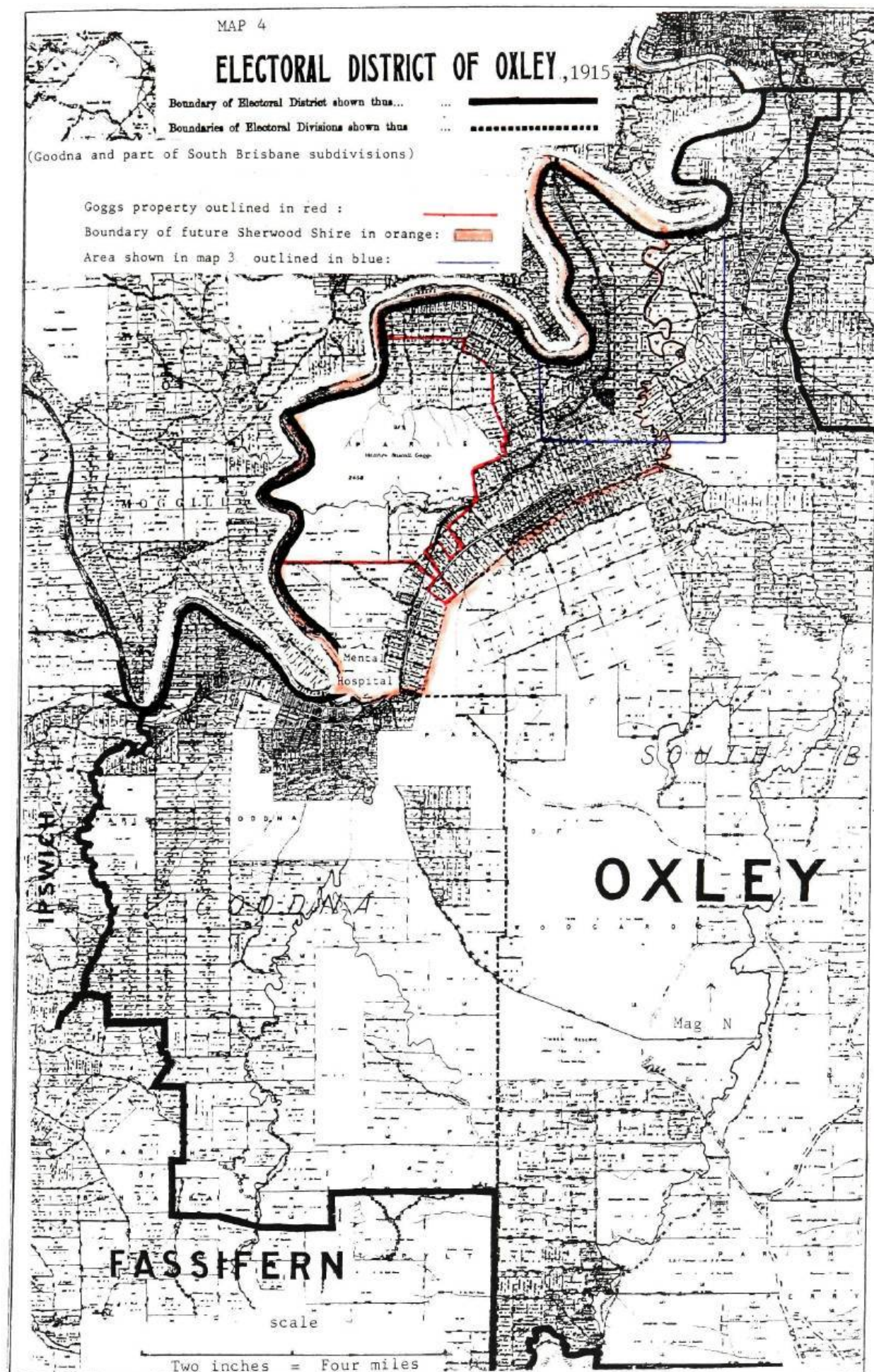
<sup>45</sup> *ibid.* p.11.



Township of Oxley, 1874, Ipswich railway completed in 1876, Corinda to Yeerongpilly line completed in 1884 are imposed on this map. This map is an enlargement of a section of the Electoral District of Oxley Map, (see map 4).







Source: Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate, 1915.



subsequent sale of land attracted both Brisbane speculators and immigrant settlers. There appeared to be three categories of land purchasers during the 1860s: the affluent speculators of Brisbane town; the immigrant pursuing the yeoman ideal arriving as the government subdivided the land; and immigrants with similar ideals arriving after most of the land had been sold.

Speculators included Governor Bowen's secretary, John Bramston, who purchased land adjacent to the river at Oxley Point. He correctly anticipated that as a result of local development, a wharf would be built in this area.<sup>46</sup> Other speculators, Charles Blakeney, Frank McDougall and Arnold Wienholt, served in either the upper or lower houses of the colonial legislature during the 1860s.<sup>47</sup> Like most speculators they did not reside locally.

Several immigrants who originally purchased land, paid their way to Australia from Britain. On arrival they received land orders representing the cost of their fares. However, the initial price of land, £1 per acre soon rose to £3, then to £6,<sup>48</sup> thus reducing the purchasing power of land orders. Original land purchasers like Alexander Boyd, William Gray and Arthur Francis settled on or near elevated land now known as Corinda Hill. Later, Boyd worked a lease close to Oxley Creek. Despite their intention to farm, Boyd, Gray and Francis lacked experience. Although they persevered, their contribution to the colony lay outside the local area: Boyd, a school inspector; Gray, a Congregational minister; and Francis, a magistrate.<sup>49</sup> Other original land purchasers such as the Strong and Orr families, (Oxley West), and the Lucock and Brodie families, (Oxley), continued to earn their living in the local area as agriculturalists. Rather than attempt to farm the high ground they

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<sup>46</sup> Helen Gregory, 'Early occupation of land in south-west Brisbane', *Brisbane History Group Papers*, no. 1, 1981, p.48; map, Parish of Oxley, County of Stanley, QSA, AG3, 4B, 1890.

<sup>47</sup> Map, Parish of Oxley, County of Stanley, QSA, AG3, 4B, 1890; *Queensland Parliamentary Handbook*, Parliamentary Library, 1977.

<sup>48</sup> Recipients of land orders, QSA; *QGG*, vol.1, no.18, 12 April 1860, p.136; Boyd, 'Reminiscences of Oxley', p.37.

<sup>49</sup> For William Gray, see Francis, *Then and Now*, p.14, and *Pugh's Almanac*, 1876, p.136; for Boyd, see Wilkes, introduction to A.J. Boyd, *Old Colonials*, facsimile edition, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1974), pp.6,7; for Francis, see Francis, *Then and Now*, pp.42,97,103,118.



chose the fertile river and creek flats.<sup>50</sup>

The third category of land purchaser arriving in Oxley West after 1862, acquired their land from either speculators or selectors. The Berry and Sinnamon families who paid their fares from Northern Ireland, initially resided with and worked for original settlers, William Gray and William Dart.<sup>51</sup> Unmarried assisted migrants, John Donaldson and John Dunlop at first worked locally: Donaldson assisting government surveyor John Payne, and Dunlop labouring for William Gray.<sup>52</sup> They gained a knowledge of the area, and with the Berry and Sinnamon families and other latecomers like the Nosworthy and Trotter families, purchased and farmed the fertile land adjoining the Brisbane River and Oxley Creek.<sup>53</sup>

Some selectors originally intended to grow cotton, as the American civil war curtailed shipments to British cotton manufacturers. Still, cash crops such as bananas, vegetables and citrus fruits provided a more reliable income.<sup>54</sup> By 1870, an enthusiasm for growing sugar cane had replaced ideas of growing cotton, as the Berry, Jimmieson, Francis and Sinnamon families established plantations along the river flats.<sup>55</sup> Arthur Francis employed male and female Melanesians, Christianity forming the basis of the friendly relations between him and his plantation workers.<sup>56</sup> Berry and Francis initially set up primitive horse driven sugar mills; Berry's mill employing sixty men at the peak of the season.<sup>57</sup> Thomas Berry Junior also operated a steam driven mill.<sup>58</sup> These mills extracted low quality sugar from the

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<sup>50</sup> Map, Parish of Oxley, County of Stanley, QSA, AG3, 4B, 1890.

<sup>51</sup> J. Berry and H. Tainton, *Berry Family History*. (Cleveland, Q.: J. Berry, 1984), p.4; Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, p.16.

<sup>52</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, pp.11,13.

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*; Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmers Paradise*, p.16.

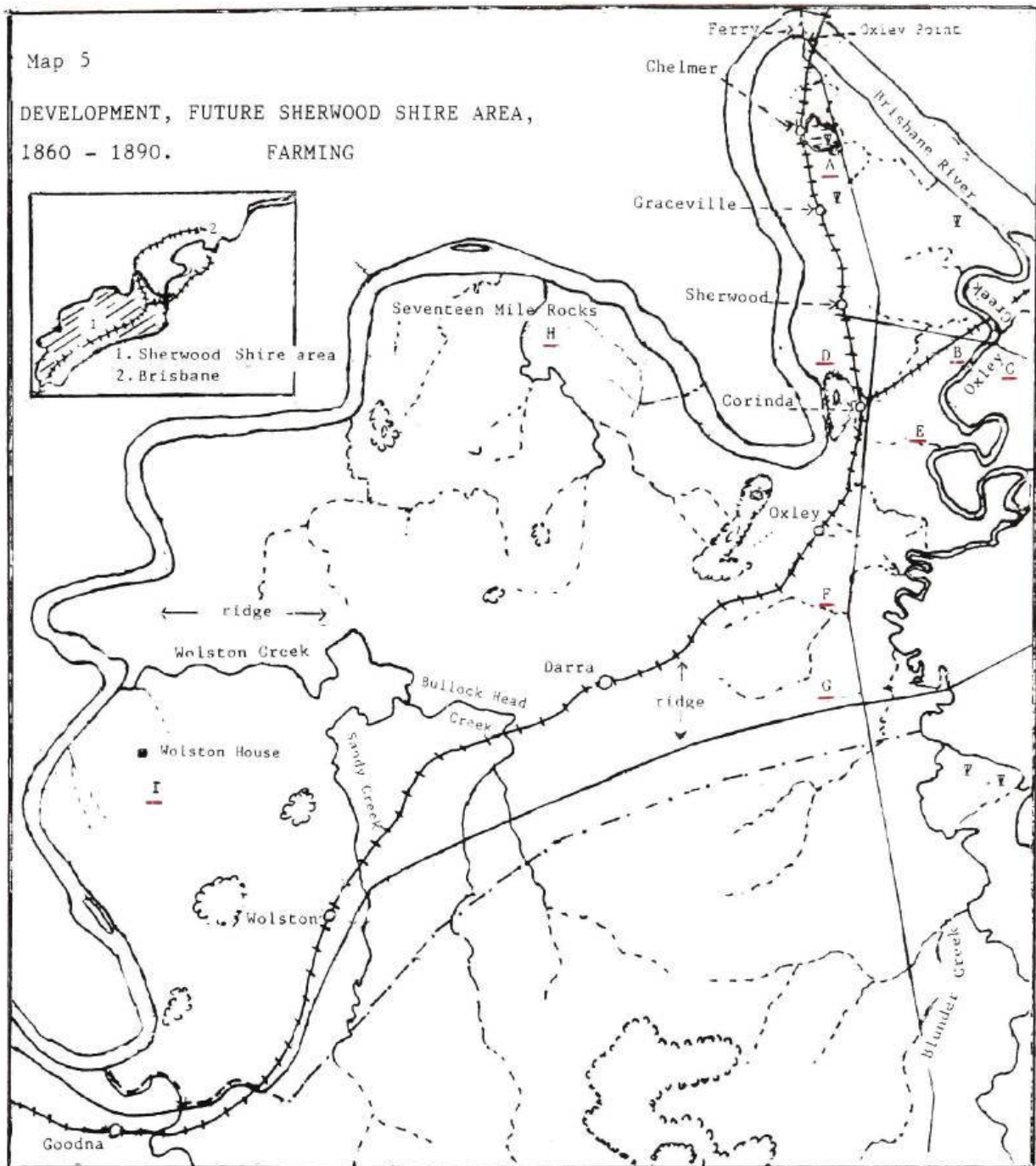
<sup>54</sup> Francis, *Then and Now*, p.10; Berry and Tainton, *Berry Family History*, pp.3 and 4.

<sup>55</sup> Berry and Tainton, *Berry Family History*, p.3; Francis, *Then and Now*, pp. 16,17; Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, p.25.

<sup>56</sup> Francis, *Then and Now*, p.17.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*; Berry and Tainton, *Berry Family History*, p.3.

<sup>58</sup> Berry and Tainton, *Berry Family History*, p.3.



Farms, selections, within a quarter mile of

A: Dart, McAllister, Mullen, Orr, Quick, Strong, T.H. Berry.

B: Johnston, Tainton, Campbell.

C: Moffatt, Radcliffe, Boyd (lease).

D: Jimmison, Francis, Boyd, Gray, Berry snr.

E: Nosworthy, Donaldson, Dunlop, Martindale, Trotter.

F: Lyon, Davies, Lucock.

G: Moffatt, Freeman, Wood.

H: Henry, Sinnamon, Magee, White, Woulfe, Belz.

I: Goggs.

scale

7/8 inch = one mile

# LEGEND

Railway line: with station:

Hills: crests. prominent.

Roads: main.

Streams: perennial. seasonal.

Swamps: perennial. seasonal.

southern boundary of future Sherwood Shire

Source: Map, Ipswich one mile series, no. 192, zone 3.  
2nd edition, 1950.



crushed cane. For planters without mills, 'The Walrus', a floating sugar mill, serviced plantations along the Brisbane River, Oxley Creek and the Logan River.<sup>59</sup> During 1872, the Oxley Creek district produced 270 tons of sugar from 244 acres of harvested cane, with production in 1873 rising slightly to 282 tons from 263 acres. In both years only half the acreage under cane was harvested, partly due to the effect of severe winters and accompanying frosts on the river and creek flats.<sup>60</sup> By 1874 however, a disease referred to in government reports as 'rust', caused further problems when it devastated cane crops in Southern Queensland.<sup>61</sup> Consequently, interest in cane farming in the Oxley Creek district waned.

The setback caused by the area's unsuitability for growing sugarcane appeared to produce a less enterprising outlook in those who continued to work the land. Local farmers, like Joseph Tainton depended on traditional but reliable cereal crops.<sup>62</sup> By the 1890s, established farmers had added dairying to their activities, so that agriculture assisted by dairying, continued into the early 1900s. The number of males associated with farming, 54 in 1894, had slightly increased to 58 by 1900. But due to the influx of suburban residents, the 1894 figure represented just 35%, and the 1900 figure only 24.4% of the known occupations of Sherwood Shire residents.<sup>63</sup>

Between 1860 and 1890, it appeared that the variable climate which had detrimentally affected the type of agriculture pursued by farmers, also influenced the attitudes of local agriculturalists and their families. The summer heat of the 1860s contrasted the severe winters of the 1870s which had adversely affected cane farming. Although a cool easterly breeze often blew across Oxley Creek valley and along the Brisbane River during summer,

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<sup>59</sup> Moffatt, 'Reminiscences of Sherwood', p.42; Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.51.

<sup>60</sup> Report of the Chief Inspector of Distilleries, for 1872 and for 1873, in *Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly of Queensland*, (VPLAQ), 1873, p.1285, 1874, vol.2, p.934.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*, 1875, vol.2, pp.321-322; Francis, *Then and Now*, p.18.

<sup>62</sup> Rev. J. Tainton, *Tainton Family Record*, (Brisbane: J. Tainton, 1972), unpagged; Moffatt, 'Reminiscences of Sherwood', p.42.

<sup>63</sup> Extracted from *Queensland Electoral Rolls, Oxley Electorate*, 1894, 1900; *Queensland Post Office Directories*, 1894-5, 1900.

new settlers still experienced the humid conditions typical of a semi-tropical climate. In letters written to friends overseas, Thomas Berry senior referred to the hot summer of 1863, when the temperature in fahrenheit 'averaged 95° in (the) shade and 135° outside'. Berry maintained that 'every time we come in, we could wring our shirts with perspiration'.<sup>64</sup>

Queensland historian, Ross Johnston, suggests that the conservative attitude of Queenslanders could be linked to the languorous behaviour caused by the balmy semi-tropical climate.<sup>65</sup> Still, in a local sense, extremes in the climate could have produced a similar attitude, as the heat, rainfall and flooding, alternated with cold weather, and at times, drought. The most severe drought occurred between 1899 and 1902, when the local area suffered with the rest of Queensland. Many of the Sinnamon family's stock perished. Those that survived lay in slings for several months, during which time they were hand-fed and watered.<sup>66</sup>

While the extremes of a sub-tropical climate probably contributed to a cautious and sometimes less optimistic attitude within the local pioneering society, the composition and characteristics of this society also influenced the outlook which emerged in the Sherwood Shire area. The attributes of individual settlers were an important factor, as was the response by agriculturalists to community activities which illustrated the ideal of self-help.

The characteristics of 'generosity', 'stubbornness' and 'self-determination' attributed to William Gray, who settled locally in 1861, were matched by the reliability and trustworthiness of John Dunlop, an early farmer and bush carpenter. William Dart, a typical agriculturalist rose at 4 am and conscientiously worked until dark, clearing and developing his holding.<sup>67</sup> Arthur Francis, a selector of 1863 and an acquaintance of Governor, Samuel Blackall, reflected his Christian beliefs when expressing the view, that

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<sup>64</sup> T.M. Berry, 'Letter home to Northern Ireland', in Berry and Tainton, *Berry Family History*, p.4.

<sup>65</sup> W. Ross Johnston, *The Call of the Land*, (Milton, Q.: Jacaranda Press, 1982), p.207.

<sup>66</sup> Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, p.83.

<sup>67</sup> Angela Francis in Francis, *Then and Now*, pp.13,32; *Brisbane Courier*, 1 Jan.1891, p.6.



'if unable to say good of anyone, say nothing at all'.<sup>68</sup> On representing the large East Moreton Electorate in the Queensland Legislative Assembly between 1867 and 1870, Francis, too independent a thinker to align with either liberal or conservative, emphasized in one of his speeches, that he was neither a 'hungry aspirant after the emoluments of office', nor 'a catspaw of any other person'.<sup>69</sup>

The women pioneers of the 1860s persevered as they shared the new life with their husbands. Initially they lived in tents, then later in slab huts, combining domestic duties with raising children, and at times assisting in the field.<sup>70</sup> For women, the most tragic and depressing aspect of pioneering life concerned the loss of children at birth or in the months following. This often occurred due to lack of pre-natal care, with the scarcity of milk contributing to dietary problems after the birth of a child. The loss of a child in infancy had a prolonged effect on Angela Francis:

Clement opened his eyes and looked up at me - the intensity of that look... son to his mother. ...Then he was with God ... that look is still near me.<sup>71</sup>

When her third child, Alexander, suffered a chest infection prior to Christmas 1863, she recorded in a letter to her sister in England:

Three nights and two days, the dear fellow has done nothing but cry, cry, cry, so unlike himself as he seldom or ever cries. ... There he is, I must go.<sup>72</sup>

She showed little concern for the daily problems associated with a pioneering lifestyle, being solely occupied with the welfare of her child.<sup>73</sup> This child survived, but she lost two other

<sup>68</sup> Francis, *Then and Now*, p.11.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*, p.19; *Queensland Parliamentary Debates*, (QPD), vol.7, 1868, p.8.

<sup>70</sup> Francis, *Then and Now*, pp. 5,6; T. Berry, 'Letters home to Northern Ireland', in Berry and Tainton, *Berry Family History*, pp. 3,4; Rev. W. Walker, 'In memory of Margaret Dunlop', *Oxley Village News*, 16 May 1984, p.2; Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, pp. 21-23.

<sup>71</sup> Francis, *Then and Now*, p.6.

<sup>72</sup> Extract, letter from Angela Francis to sister Charlotte, 24 Dec. 1863 to 4 Jan. 1864, in Angela Francis, *Grannie Francis' Book*. (East Grinstead, Sussex: Henry W. Cullen, 1906), appendix viii, pp.xvii-xix.

<sup>73</sup> *ibid.*

children during infancy, which motivated her to establish a mid-wife training scheme for women in isolated areas.<sup>74</sup> On another occasion, to prevent the possibility of naive female migrants succumbing to the adverse influences of urban life, Angela Francis trained several young females as governesses.<sup>75</sup>

In adapting to their new environment, local selectors of the 1860s often dealt with their problems single-handedly, however, they frequently received assistance from fellow agriculturalists.

If a farmer had a piece of felled timber ready to burn, his neighbour came to help, a service which he would return should his neighbour be pressed for time to pull a few acres of corn.<sup>76</sup>

These actions reveal the origins of a community spirit, and like the endeavours of Angela Francis in training mid-wives and young governesses, such a spirit exemplified the self-help ideal. This ideal, encouraged by governments in Britain and colonial Queensland, became an integral part of the local conservative outlook. Consequently, self-help motivated agriculturalists to improve their lifestyle in circumstances other than that of assisting neighbours.

Two instances highlight these circumstances. In 1863 and in 1889, rather than resort to disorderly demonstration, local agriculturalists dutifully presented to the Queensland Government, two petitions which illustrated their initiative to improve conditions in their own area. The 1863 petition signed by 30 residents, called for a bridge over Oxley Creek which would halve the distance to the Brisbane markets for local agriculturalists.<sup>77</sup> Although the creek had recently been bridged upstream at Oxley during the construction of a new road from Ipswich to Brisbane, the government responded to the petition by building another bridge over Oxley Creek in 1864, approximately a mile from its mouth. This bridge now serves the suburbs of Sherwood and Corinda. In 1865, a road linked this bridge

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<sup>74</sup> Francis, *Then and Now*, pp.62-63.

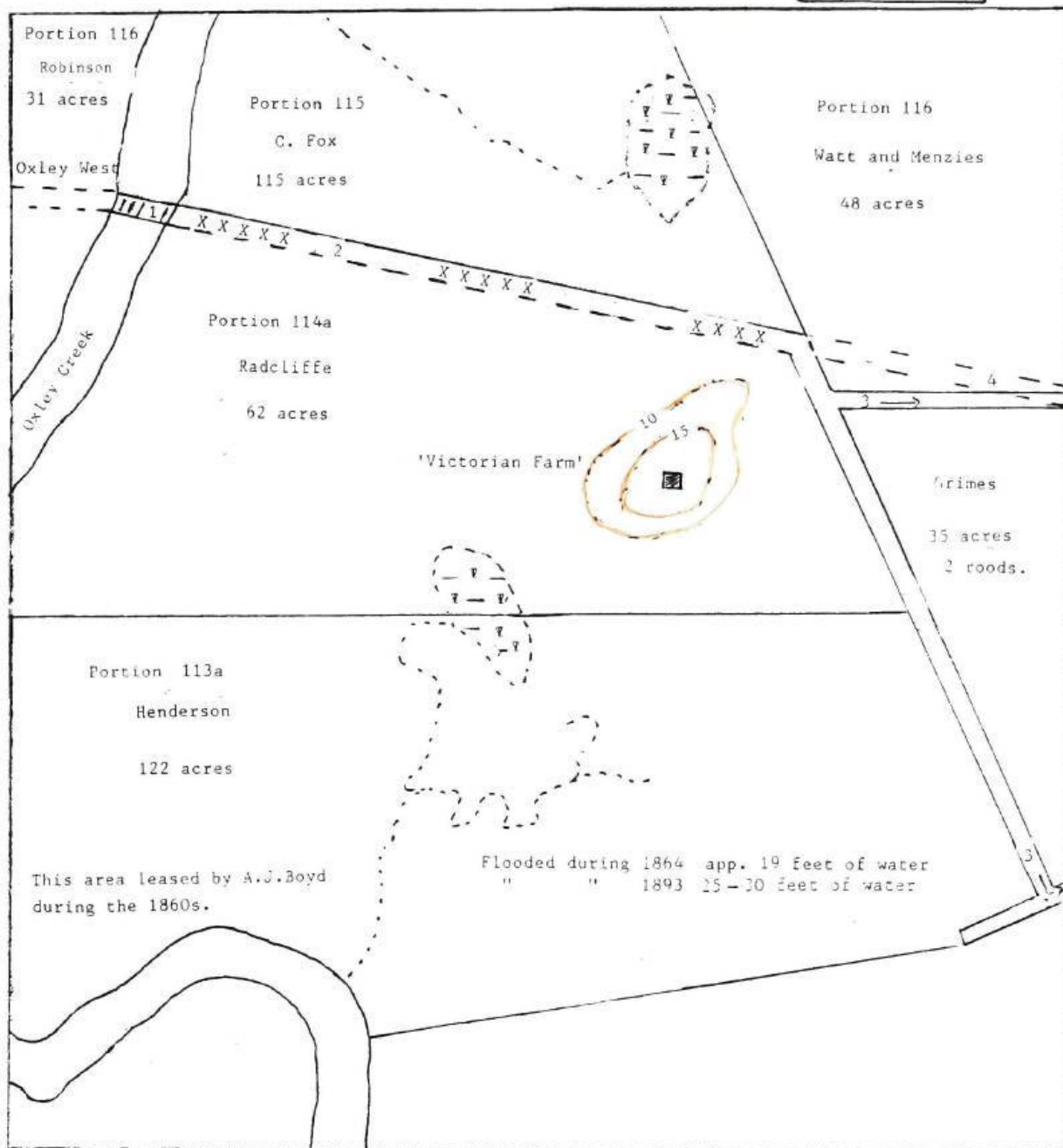
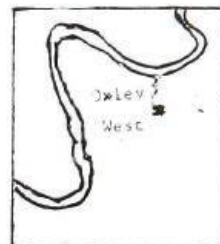
<sup>75</sup> *ibid.*, pp.61-62.

<sup>76</sup> Boyd, 'Reminiscences of Oxley', p.39.

<sup>77</sup> Petition, 7 March 1863, QSA, COL /A34-1863.



NEW ROAD - OXLEY WEST TO ROCKY WATERHOLES  
VIA NEW BRIDGE, 1863-1865.



Source: Survey map, Parish of Oxley; Plan of road to Oxley Creek bridge, Q S A, LWO/A15, 27 Sept. 1864, A/2073;  
Contours, map, Ipswich One mile series, 1950.  
A.J. Boyd, 'Reminiscences of Oxley', Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue, pp. 39, 40.

to Rocky Waterholes, a farming settlement later known as Rocklea, which was situated two miles to the east on the road to Brisbane.<sup>78</sup> (Map 3, p.26 and Map 6, p.35)

The other petition concerned the Oxley hotel, somewhat an embarrassment to the local conservative population, as most businesses catered for the immediate needs of agriculturalists. During the 1860s, businesses at Oxley included a blacksmith and a general store which later relocated to higher ground due to Oxley Creek flooding.<sup>79</sup> By the early 1890s, similar businesses, with the addition of a bakery, served the residents of Sherwood.<sup>80</sup> Nonetheless, the hotel at Oxley rather than benefiting the local area, had initially operated as a change station for horses and a refreshment stop for coaches on the road to Ipswich.<sup>81</sup> In 1873, on the deterioration of this hotel, which later served as the residence of the local Church of England minister, a new hotel was constructed at the intersection of present day Ipswich and Oxley Roads.<sup>82</sup> (Map 9, p.68) In 1889, 23 residents, mostly agriculturalists, on petitioning the Queensland Government expressed their concern that the new Oxley hotel, in addition to its liquor licence, now possessed a music hall licence. The locals feared that a music hall would attract the 'larrikin element of both sexes who would dance' to all hours.<sup>83</sup> Subsequently, the concern shown by local residents, added to the duties of the sole police constable stationed at Oxley since 1876.<sup>84</sup>

Community self-help also motivated the establishment of churches and schools in the sparsely populated Oxley Creek district. Marc Askew, Australian community historian,

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<sup>78</sup> Plan of road to Oxley Creek bridge, QSA, LWO/A15,A/2073, 27 September 1864; notice re completion of road to Oxley Creek bridge, *QGG*, vol.6, no. 3, 14 January 1865, p.23.

<sup>79</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.55.

<sup>80</sup> Collyer and Byrnes, *Sherwood School Centenary*, p.31; map, sub-division of Shank's paddock, Commissioner of Police correspondence, Sherwood Police Station, 1904, QSA, A/41622.

<sup>81</sup> Historical material, G.M. Bailey historical collection, Oxley.

<sup>82</sup> O.E.J. Bartlett, 'Early memories of Oxley', G.M. Bailey historical collection.

<sup>83</sup> Petition to Commissioner of Police, 19 February 1889, Oxley Police reports, QSA, A/41696.

<sup>84</sup> Oxley Police reports, QSA, A/41696, Corinda Police reports, QSA, A/41220.



maintained that the first task in which Christian religions in a colonial society engaged, was the re-integration of Christian values in a population disorganized by immigration and resettlement.<sup>85</sup> In stabilising new communities, churches provided support for families and family values.<sup>86</sup> Local identity, John Moffatt, on recalling the early years of settlement in the Sherwood district, referred to the pioneering families as a

religious body, notwithstanding the hardships and privations they had to endure. They found time and money, to erect a church in which they could worship their God.<sup>87</sup>

Indeed, in the absence of a local police station until 1876, a moral influence appeared necessary due to the temptation of hotels at Oxley and Rocky Waterholes.<sup>88</sup>

Before the erection of churches, male members of local families conducted services in their homes. In 1864, the Baptists built the first church in the district,<sup>89</sup> which soon closed due to lack of support. In 1863, William Gray conducted Presbyterian services in a tent close to present day Corinda railway station. He later held these services in a hut on his nearby holding.<sup>90</sup> The first Presbyterian congregation constituted in 1865 and known as Oxley Creek, formed part of the pastoral charge of the Reverend Alexander Caldwell. His change extended to the north of Brisbane and included a church at Fortitude Valley, an inner suburb of Brisbane.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Marc Askew, 'Praying, Paying and Obeying', in *Constructing a Culture*. V. Burgmann and J. Lee, eds. (Fitzroy, Vic.: McPhee/Penguin, 1988), p.171.

<sup>86</sup> Patricia Grimshaw and Charles Fahey, 'Family and Community in nineteenth century Castlemaine', in P. Grimshaw, C. McConville, E. McEwen, eds. *Families in Colonial Australia*. (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1985), p.91.

<sup>87</sup> Moffatt, 'Reminiscences of Sherwood', p.42.

<sup>88</sup> Oxley Police Station records, QSA, A/41696, Corinda Police Station records, QSA, A/41220; G.M. Bailey historical collection, Oxley.

<sup>89</sup> Moffatt, 'Reminiscences of Sherwood', p.43.

<sup>90</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.15.

<sup>91</sup> R. Bardon, *The Centenary History of the Presbyterian Church in Queensland*. (Brisbane: The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1949), p.253.

The Presbyterians erected their first church, a slab building on land donated by selector, John McDiarmid. This building, located in the future suburb of Sherwood was replaced by a weatherboard church in 1867.<sup>92</sup> The appointment in 1885 of the Reverend John Pollock as minister of the newly formed Sherwood charge, led to the erection in 1889 of a brick and stone building which still stands on Oxley Road, Sherwood.<sup>93</sup> During 1864, local residents held working bees to erect a non-denominational slab church at Oxley, with the Sunday school supervised by Church of England selector, Arthur Francis. By 1891, a weatherboard construction had replaced this building.<sup>94</sup> (Photo 7, p.39 and Map 7, p.43)

In 1869, one year after the formation of a Church of England congregation in the Oxley Creek district, the Governor of Queensland, Samuel Blackall, laid the foundation stone of the Church of St. Matthew at present day Sherwood. On 6 June 1870, the Right Reverend E.W. Tufnell, Anglican Bishop of Brisbane, officially opened the brick and stone church which cost £370 to construct.<sup>95</sup> The church, Gothic in design, yet sufficiently modified 'to suit the climate', measured 35 feet by 25 feet. It comfortably accommodated one hundred and thirty worshippers.<sup>96</sup> Land adjacent to the church served as a cemetery. In 1874, Bishop Tufnell attended by a twenty-four member choir consecrated the church.<sup>97</sup> Lay members Arthur Francis and Thomas Berry senior, and on occasions the Reverend J.E. Moffatt, conducted services until all debts appertaining to the erection of the church had been cleared.<sup>98</sup> The Reverend James Hassall, a grandson of Samuel Marsden, then accepted appointment as the first resident minister, serving from 1876 to 1899.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.15.

<sup>93</sup> Minutes, new church building committee, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 1889.

<sup>94</sup> *Queenslander*, 20 May 1929, p.4.

<sup>95</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 11 June 1870, p.6; historical collection and records of the Church of St. Matthew, Sherwood.

<sup>96</sup> *ibid.*

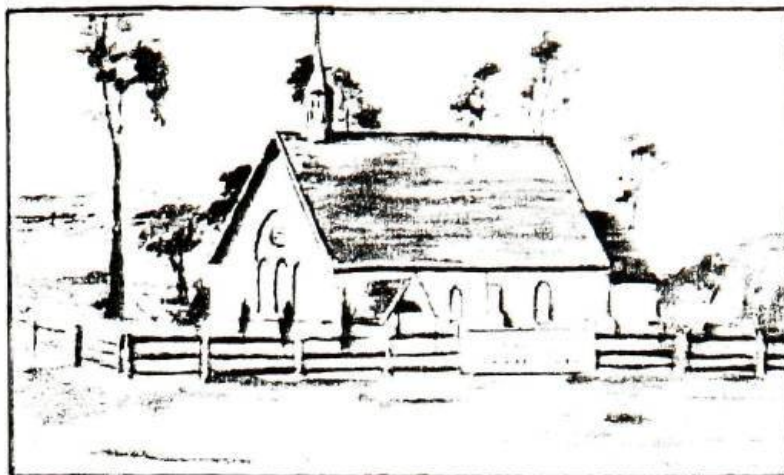
<sup>97</sup> Advertisement, consecration, *Brisbane Courier*, 2 Jan. 1874, p.1; report of consecration, *Oxley Village News*, 29 March 1978, p.1.

<sup>98</sup> Berry and Tainton, *Berry Family History*, p.8; consecration, *Oxley Village News*, 29 March 1978, p.1.

<sup>99</sup> Records, Church of St. Matthew, Sherwood, 1921.



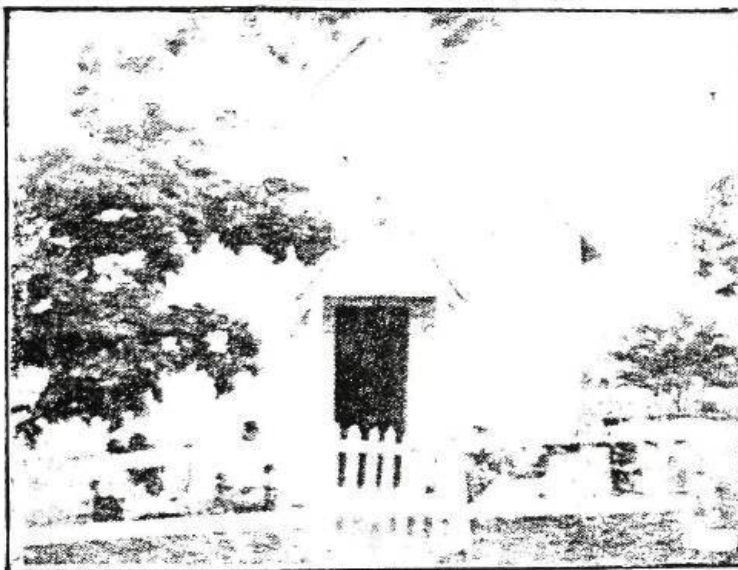
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First Church of St. Matthew, Sherwood,  
consecrated, 1874. page

(A. Francis. Then and Now, p.15)

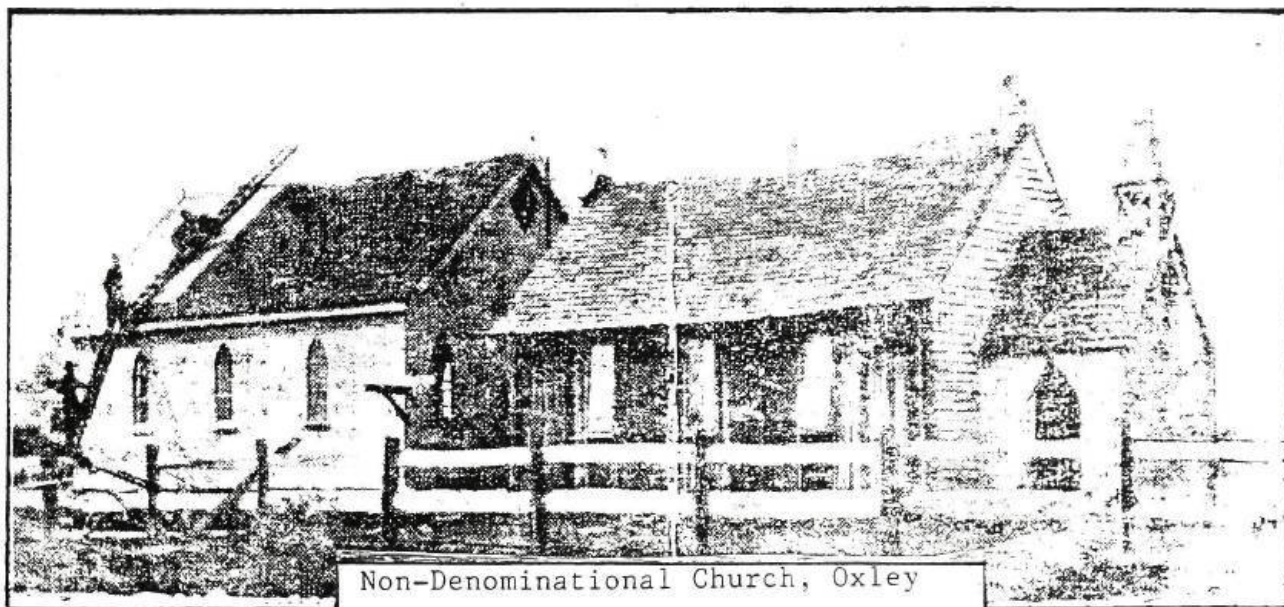
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Primitive Methodist Church, Seventeen  
Mile Rocks, erected in 1888. page 40

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(C.V. Abrahams, Sherwood Centenary, p. 17)



Non-Denominational Church, Oxley

Church erected in 1864 on right  
Replacement, 1891 on left.

(Queenslander, 20 May 1929, p. 4)

Early in the 1860s, the Primitive Methodists erected a church east of Oxley Creek near the road to Rocky Waterholes. Here, itinerant minister, the Reverend Joseph Buckle, regularly conducted services. To the west of Oxley Creek, a small group of Methodists formed a Wesleyan congregation in 1886. Within a year they met in their own timber church at Sherwood, where visiting ministers conducted the services.<sup>1</sup> In 1880 at Seventeen Mile Rocks, another Methodist sect, the Bible Christians, constructed a bark and shingle building, their preachers travelling by river from Ipswich. In 1888, Church of England supporters erected a timber church close by, but as they could not attract a minister, the Primitive Methodists, consisting mostly of the original Bible Christian congregation, assumed control of the structure. This church, now situated on Seventeen Mile Rocks Road, a quarter of a mile to the east of its original location, is still supported by the Sinnamon family who had initially been associated with the Bible Christian Church.<sup>2</sup>

During the 1860s, Father Frank Dunne, a future Archbishop of Brisbane, travelled the district attending to the spiritual needs of Roman Catholics.<sup>3</sup> John Moffatt maintained that in the 1860s, 'there were no sectarian spirits abroad' in the local area. This non-sectarian attitude allowed Roman Catholics, a minority in the district, to use the first slab building erected by the Presbyterian congregation as a place of worship.<sup>4</sup> Later, Roman Catholics met in other buildings in the area until the erection of their own church, St. Joseph's, in 1912.

Members of the various religious denominations attended each other's social activities, a practice which continued into the 1900s. These activities included the annual Sunday school picnic, to which adults and even children wore formal clothing.<sup>5</sup> Still, the tea meeting proved the most popular activity. Selector, Alexander Boyd, head of the committee responsible for financing the erection of the Church of St. Matthew at Sherwood, considered

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<sup>1</sup> Boyd, 'Reminiscences of Oxley', p.39; Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.19.

<sup>2</sup> Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, pp.59-60; Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.17.

<sup>3</sup> 'Old Chum', (A.J. Boyd), 'Oxley Creek in '62', *Brisbane Courier*, 1 Jan. 1891, p.6.

<sup>4</sup> J. Moffatt, 'Reminiscences of Sherwood', p.43.

<sup>5</sup> Photograph, Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, p.58.



the Canoe Creek (Oxley Creek) district, 'the great nursery of tea meetings'.<sup>6</sup> These meetings, held regularly in aid of building funds, appeared to have originated in the early 1860s as part of the planning for the erection of the Primitive Methodist Church near Rocky Waterholes. Boyd maintained that 'every successive gathering of people' at tea meetings, 'stimulated a recurrence of the pastime'.<sup>7</sup> He reveals that at these gatherings, ministers and laymen usually addressed those assembled 'on topics immediately connected with the special meeting', and in addition to drinking tea, there were no restrictions on

all sorts of innocent amusements. Thus... cricket, running, jumping, kiss-in-the-ring and other outdoor games (were) carried on by the young devotees, while their elders stroll(ed) about or (sat) under trees, smoking and discussing agricultural prospects generally.<sup>8</sup>

Because of their popularity, tea meetings attracted visitors from the surrounding districts, many staying overnight with friends.<sup>9</sup>

Like churches, schools appeared shortly after the arrival of the white settlers. In the mid-1860s, the first private school functioned for a brief period in the Baptist church.<sup>10</sup> Arthur Francis, who had difficulty surviving on an agricultural income, conducted an 'advanced school for squatter's sons', the pupils boarding with the Francis family.<sup>11</sup> Another less successful farmer, William Gray, a neighbour of Francis, held classes for older children and adults.<sup>12</sup> These first attempts at providing private education in the local area, foreshadowed the appearance of a long serving private school at Oxley. In 1878, Janet O'Connor established 'Duporth', a girls boarding school catering mostly for pupils from outside the district.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> A.J. Boyd, *Old Colonials*, facsimile edition. (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1974), pp.272-3.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p.273.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* (Tea meetings appear to be a social activity, rather than an occasion for specifically drinking tea.)

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.23.

<sup>11</sup> Francis, *Then and Now*, p.11; Moffatt, 'Reminiscences of Sherwood', p.43.

<sup>12</sup> Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, p.53.

<sup>13</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.23.

In 1867, the first government school, initially known as West Oxley, attracted an enrolment of 117. A change of name occurred in 1878, when this school became known as Sherwood.<sup>14</sup> In 1869, Oxley East, later named Oxley, commenced as a provisional school, with classes held in the non-denominational church.<sup>15</sup> In 1870, the erection of a school building nearby, attracted an enrolment of 74 pupils.<sup>16</sup> Oxley East then served as a non-vested or private school until 1875, when it became a vested or government school.<sup>17</sup> In 1870, a provisional school opened at Seventeen Mile Rocks with an enrolment of 39.<sup>18</sup> (Map 7, p.43) In a provisional school, the government paid the teacher's salary and provided some books and other teaching aids, with the provision of a building the responsibility of local parents.<sup>19</sup>

Still, the enthusiasm for education was not shared by all local agriculturalists. Despite the origins of the teaching staff at West Oxley (Sherwood) school, many parents appeared apathetic towards their children's education. Alexander Boyd, a local selector in his mid-twenties, and the first head teacher appointed to West Oxley school, received his education in France, Italy and Switzerland.<sup>20</sup> In 1870, although 137 out of the 193 school age children living in the vicinity of West Oxley had enrolled, only 50% of those enrolled attended school regularly. They were subjected to an unattractive curriculum which included the Irish school reader, its content having little relevance to Queensland school children.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Report of the Board of General Education, 1867 in *VPLAQ*, 1868-69, p.569; Collyer and Byrnes, *Sherwood State School Centenary*, p.9.

<sup>15</sup> Bailey, *Oxley State School Centenary*, pp.3-6.

<sup>16</sup> Report, Board of General Education, 1870, *VPLAQ*, 1871, pp.289-308.

<sup>17</sup> Bailey, *Oxley State School Centenary*, pp.3-6.

<sup>18</sup> Report, Board of General Education, 1870, in *VPLAQ*, 1871, p.272; Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, p.53.

<sup>19</sup> Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, p.53.

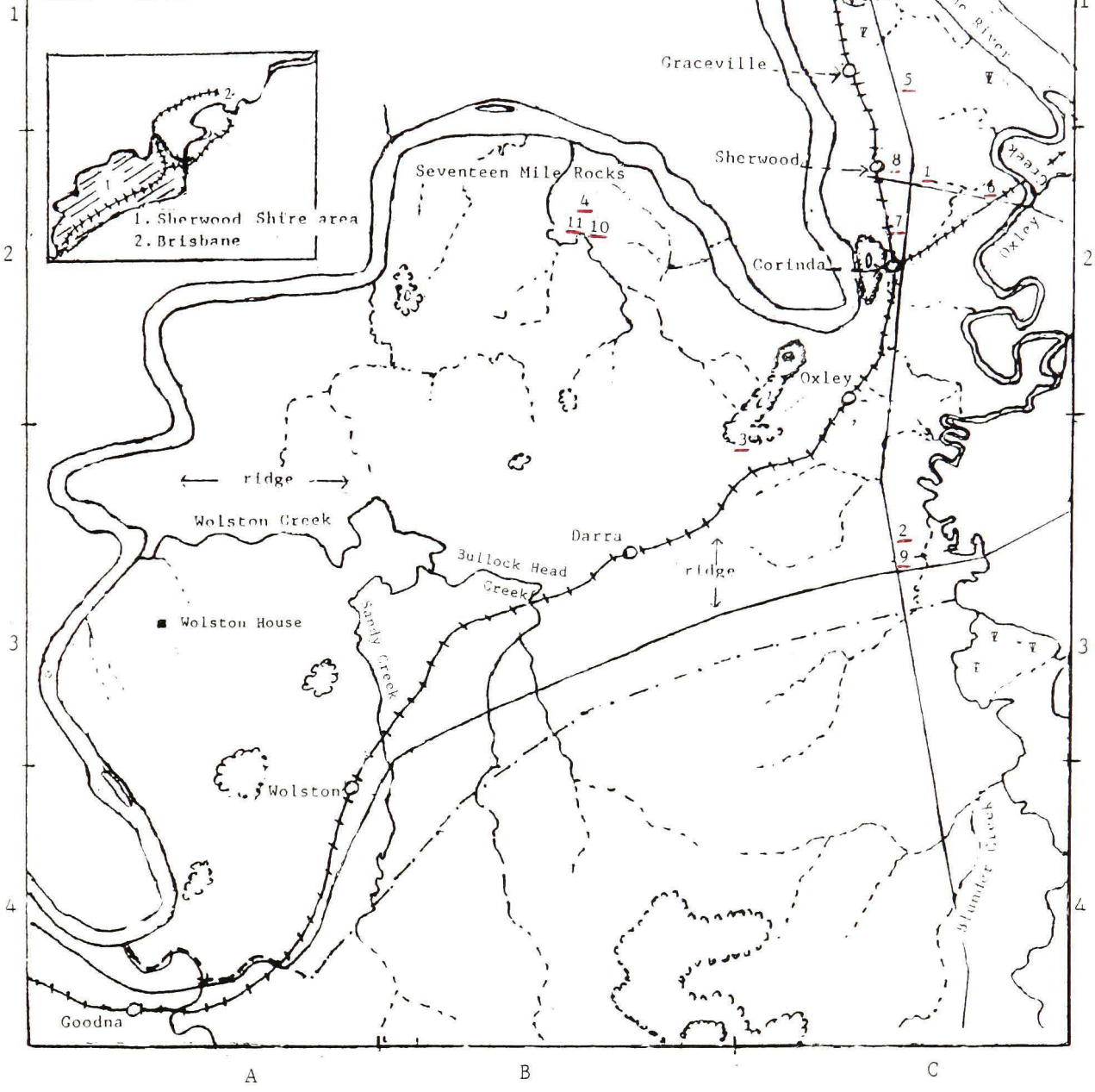
<sup>20</sup> G.A. Wilkes, 'Introduction', Boyd, *Old Colonials*, p.6.

<sup>21</sup> Report, Board of General Education, 1870, *VPLAQ*, 1871, pp.289-308; Greg Logan, 'Irish, royal and red. The story of Queensland Readers', *The Educational Historian*, vol.2, no. 3, 1989, p.1.



Map 7

DEVELOPMENT, FUTURE SHERWOOD SHIRE AREA,  
1860 - 1890. BUILDINGS



Schools		Churches	
	Ref		Ref
<u>1.</u> West Oxley (Sherwood)	C2	<u>5.</u> Baptist	C1
<u>2.</u> Oxley East	C3	<u>6.</u> Church of England	C2
<u>3.</u> Duporth	C3	<u>7.</u> Presbyterian	C2
<u>4.</u> Seventeen Mile Rocks	B2	<u>8.</u> Wesleyan	C2
		<u>9.</u> Non-denom-inational	C3
		<u>10.</u> Bible Christian	B2
		<u>11.</u> Primitive Methodist	B2

scale  
7/8 inch = one mile

LEGEND

- Railway line: with station.
- Hills: crests, prominent.
- Roads: main.
- Streams: perennial, seasonal.
- Swamps: perennial, seasonal.

southern boundary of future Sherwood Shire

Source: Physical features, roads and railways, from map, Ipswich one mile series, 1950.



Sketch probably drawn by C.G.S. Hirst.

page 42

(D. Collyer and P. Byrnes, Sherwood School Centenary, p.7.)

9



Agricultural scene, Seventeen Mile Rocks, now the suburb of Jindalee. Photograph taken in 1959.

(C.V. Abrahams, Sherwood Centenary, p. 37)



The lack of interest by West Oxley parents 'to the boon of education',<sup>22</sup> typified the attitude prevalent in both agricultural and urban communities throughout the colony of Queensland. Even in the 1890s, 60% of parents were suspicious of, or hostile towards education, and considered that children should support the family as early as possible.<sup>23</sup> As in other parts of Australia, education served as a 'part time activity, second to helping out on the farm'. Such an attitude had not originated locally, but had been imported to Australia by British migrants, unreceptive to the need for a primary school education.<sup>24</sup>

The self-help activities which improved the lot of pioneer women and young female immigrants, and established churches and schools in the local area, also revealed that a small but influential status group existed within the agricultural society west of Oxley Creek. The first settlers on the hill in the future suburb of Corinda: Alexander Boyd, William Gray, and Arthur Francis and his wife Angela, though new to farming, were an influential clique, mainly due to their association with the religious and educational activities which helped stabilise the local area. The background of these settlers probably contributed to their local prominence. Boyd received his education in Europe, while Gray briefly attended medical school prior to his studying for the ministry. During the 1860s, Francis served in the Legislative Assembly of Queensland. Angela Francis emanated from a middle class family.<sup>25</sup> Even as a pioneer living in a tent she had a servant, and her attitude in 1863 reveals a partial insight into relationships within the emerging community. In correspondence to her sister she respectfully referred to 'the Boyds' and 'the Grays', and alluded to a young settler as 'Mr. Martindale'. But a neighbour on the river flat, George Jimmieson, who drew attention to the Francis' cattle invading his corn, is curtly referred

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<sup>22</sup> Report, Board of General Education, 1870, *VPLAQ*, 1871, pp.289-308.

<sup>23</sup> Ronald Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*. (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1973), p.154; T. Hangar, *Sixty Years in Queensland Schools*. (Sydney: Wentworth, 1963), p.89.

<sup>24</sup> Winifred Mitchell and Geoffrey Sherington, 'Families and children in nineteenth century Illawarra', in P. Grimshaw, C. McConville, E. McEwen, eds., *Families in Colonial Australia*, p.110.

<sup>25</sup> Francis, *Then and Now*, pp.1,2; Wilkes, Introduction, Boyd, *Old Colonials*, p.6.

to as 'Jimmieson'.<sup>26</sup> It would appear that Angela Francis placed herself and her friends on a level higher than that of her complaining neighbour. The presence of this influential group situated on the hill at Corinda, foreshadowed the arrival of other equally influential residents to this location when suburbs appeared in the future Sherwood Shire.

Notwithstanding, on the creek and river flats, local farmers due to their industry, and uninfluenced by middle class backgrounds, contributed to the formation of their own status group. By the late 1870s, successful, sound, reliable agriculturalists from the Berry, Dunlop, Lyon, Nosworthy, Orr and Sinnamon families, had brought stability to the local area. Other farmers with similar attributes served on the Yeerongpilly Divisional Board, a local government entity encouraging self-help. The number two subdivision of this board encompassed the future Sherwood Shire. In 1880, on the establishment of the Yeerongpilly Divisional Board which met monthly at Rocky Waterholes, the Queensland Government appointed agriculturalists, Henry Lucock, James McDowell and Edward Jarrott, representatives of number two subdivision.<sup>27</sup> Between 1885 and 1890, agriculturalists George Strong and Robert Donaldson represented this subdivision, with another prominent local farmer, John Moffatt, elected as Chairman of the Yeerongpilly Divisional Board in 1889.<sup>28</sup>

By the end of the 1880s, influenced by their ideals of community self-help, some prominent white settlers in the Oxley Creek district had revealed their leadership qualities, with several other settlers confirming their status as successful agriculturalists. Although self-sufficiency was an important element contributing to the conservative lifestyle of local agriculturalists, its presence did not prevent support for initiatives introduced by the Queensland Government. Rather than specifically benefit the local area, these initiatives were originally designed to improve transport and communication between Ipswich and Brisbane. Nonetheless, local agriculturalists patronised the southern and western railway line completed in the mid-1870s, although it would eventually attract suburban residents to

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<sup>26</sup> Angela Francis to sister, Charlotte, 24 Dec 1863, in Angela Francis, *Grannie Francis' Book*, appendices viii, pp.xvii to xix.

<sup>27</sup> Order-in-Council, *QGG*, vol.26, no.27, 13 Feb. 1880, p.357.

<sup>28</sup> *Pugh's Almanacs*, 1884, p.343, 1885, p.383; *Brisbane Centenary Official Historical Souvenir*. (Brisbane: Centenary Committee, 1924), p.179.



the area.

At first, railway passengers suffered inconvenience, as on the completion of the railway from Ipswich to Oxley Point in 1875, they had to be ferried across the Brisbane River to Indooroopilly to join the train to Brisbane. When the Albert railway bridge connected the two lines across the river in 1876, the ferry continued to carry vehicles and stock. From 1874, the railway department established railway stations at Oxley, and at Oxley West (Sherwood), with a stopping place at nine mile forty four chain gate, now Darra.<sup>29</sup> In 1881, a railway station was established at Chelmer, with another at Graceville in 1884.<sup>30</sup> (Map 7, p.43) From 1 July 1889 to 30 June 1890, approximately 170 passengers travelled daily by train from railway stations between Darra and Chelmer.<sup>31</sup> During 1892, Sherwood residents enjoyed a daily service of eighteen trains to Brisbane.<sup>32</sup> Following the destruction of the railway bridge at Oxley Point by the 1893 flood, the ferry again transported passengers until the completion of another railway bridge in 1895.<sup>33</sup>

In 1884, within the local area, the government constructed a branch line of the southern and western railway, and established South Brisbane Junction, half a mile south of Sherwood railway station. (Map 7, p.43) In 1888, this junction became known as Corinda. The line terminated at South Brisbane near the wharves on the Brisbane River.<sup>34</sup> It carried wool from the Darling Downs and coal from the West Moreton fields. In addition to freight and

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<sup>29</sup> J. Kerr and J. Armstrong, *Brisbane Railway Centenary*. (Brisbane: Australian Railway Historical Society, [Qld. Div.] 1976), p.47.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*; see Chelmer, a new station yet to attract revenue, in Annual Report of Commissioner for Railways, 1881, in *VPLAQ*, 1882, vol.2, pp.887-890. By 1890, Chelmer railway station had been moved a short distance to the site indicated on Map 7, p.43. For Graceville, see *QGG*, vol.36 no.5, 3 January 1885, p.79, (timetable, issued 29 October 1884).

<sup>31</sup> Annual Report, Commissioner for Railways, *VPLAQ*, vol.3, 1890, p.499.

<sup>32</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 14 March 1892, p.7.

<sup>33</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.29.

<sup>34</sup> J.H.C. McLurg, 'The Woolloongabba Railway Line', in *Historical Sketches of Brisbane*. (Library Board of Queensland; Royal Historical Society of Queensland, 1975), pp.87-88; commencement notice, *QGG*, vol.34, no.91, 31 May 1884, p.1683.

goods, trains using the line provided passenger accommodation three times daily.<sup>35</sup>

Other improvements in communication associated with the railway, included the establishment of post offices at Oxley, 1875; Oxley West (Sherwood), 1877; and Corinda, 1889. Railway station masters usually acted as postmasters. From 1884, telegraphic facilities operated at local railway stations.<sup>36</sup> The railway induced a few individuals to build homes and reside on the urban fringe. Eventually it motivated residential subdivision between Chelmer and Darra, foreshadowing change from an agricultural to a suburban area. Indeed by 1891, on the proclamation of the Sherwood Shire, the population of which numbered 2331, at least 30% of male residents listed in postal directories, followed urban rather than agricultural occupations.<sup>37</sup>

By 1890, the development of the future Sherwood Shire area had been influenced by several events which were an integral part of Queensland history. These included Aboriginal encounters, exploration, convict settlement, immigration, land usage and conservatism. Exploration, immigration and land usage constituted the main elements effecting change. Exploration revealed the rich vegetation and the suitability of land near the waterways for agricultural use. After the Queensland Government divided the land into selections, British migrants mainly contributed to the development and gradual increase in the population of the local area.

Dependence on the river for transport assisted in moulding the lifestyle of local agriculturalists, as the tide forced an adherence to a disciplined work pattern. The unsuccessful attempt at growing sugarcane, delayed until the 1880s, a stable agricultural industry based on cereal crops and dairying. For both the experienced and inexperienced farmer, this delay would have caused uncertainty, a situation exacerbated by frequent flooding and severe drought. This tended to produce a less enterprising attitude within the local farming population, thereby contributing to a conservative outlook typical of most

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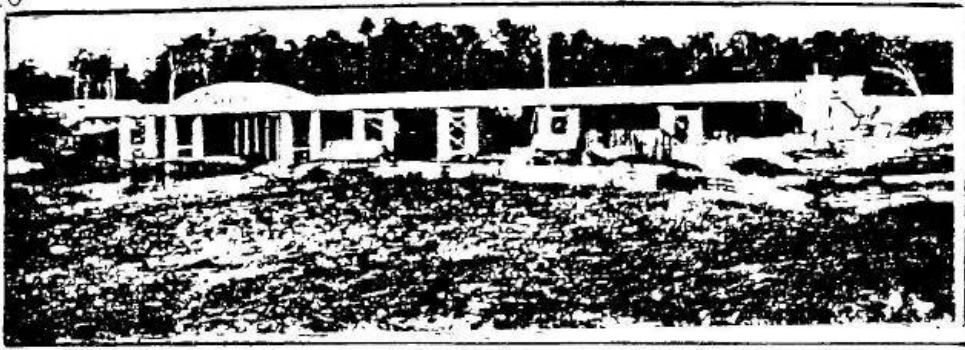
<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*; railway timetables, *QGG*, vol.34, no.91, 31 May 1884, p.1698.

<sup>36</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1875, p.109; Collyer and Byrnes, *Sherwood School Centenary*, p.35; Report, Department of Post and Telegraph, 1889, in *VPLAQ*, 1890, vol.1, p.1146.

<sup>37</sup> Statistics of Queensland, *VPLAQ*, 1892, vol.3, p.322; *Queensland Post Office Directories*, 1891-2.



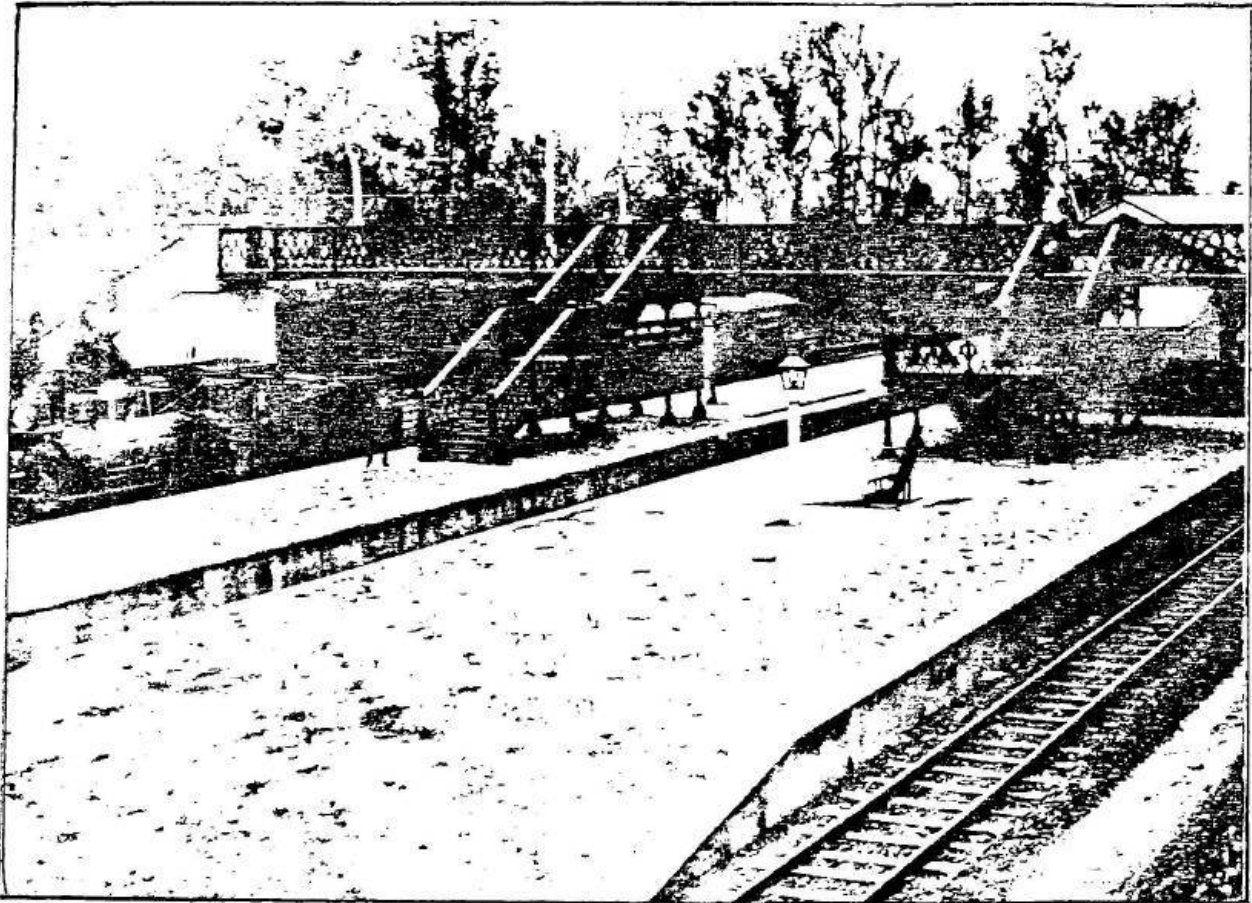
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First railway bridge between Chelmer  
and Indooroopilly, completed, 1876. pages 16, 47

(A. Francis, Then and Now, p.37)

11



Corinda Railway Station, mid-1880s. page 47

(J. Kerr and J. Armstrong, Brisbane Railway Centenary, p.47).

agricultural communities. Throughout Australia, there may have been differences in the application of the yeoman model, but the attributes of 'honesty, sobriety and willingness to work hard', usually associated with this model, typified the attitude of several local pioneers and their families.<sup>38</sup> This ensured the continuation of their independence as agriculturalists, despite the change in the composition of the population following the completion of the southern and western railway.

Community self-help, an attribute encouraged by conservative governments in Queensland, assisted in improving conditions in the colony as well as in the local area. Angela Francis, a member of one of the influential local families, partly alleviated the hardship experienced by women in a pioneering society. Her decision to train women in isolated areas as midwives, though innovative, relieved stress within the family, while her training of newly arrived female migrants as governesses, contributed to upholding the morality of Queensland society. Locally, self-help had motivated the construction of a bridge, and the reduction of disturbing elements. It underlay the involvement of influential members of the community in the establishment of churches and schools. In another demonstration of self-help, local agriculturalists served as members of the Yeerongpilly Divisional Board. Although the establishment of schools and the provision of buildings by the community indicated some support for the education of the young, the adverse reaction by many parents to schooling did not change, and appeared to be an attitude inherited from British forebears. This attitude, together with other British cultural influences, such as the yeoman ideal, self-sufficiency and support for the various religious denominations, reinforced the conservative outlook of local agriculturalists experiencing the rigours of a pioneering lifestyle, in an environment unlike that of their country of origin.

This general analysis of the development of the future Sherwood Shire area prior to 1890, has mainly focused on the influences which produced a conservative outlook within an agricultural society composed of white immigrant settlers. Between 1891 and 1920, as suburban elements dominated the shire area from Chelmer to Darra, some influences remained. The newer residents with urban, rather than agricultural occupations, subscribed to the formation of status groups, the self-help ideal, and experienced the varying yet stable

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<sup>38</sup> Marilyn Lake, 'Helpmeet, slave, housewife; women in rural families, 1870-1930', in P. Grimshaw, C. McConville, E. McEwen, eds., *Families in Colonial Australia*, p.175.



effect of churches and primary schools on a suburban society.

## CHAPTER 2 THE SHERWOOD SHIRE - SUBURBANIZATION AND THE ASSOCIATED CONSERVATISM

Although the Sherwood Shire lay between Brisbane and Ipswich, Brisbane had the greatest impact on suburban development within the shire. Between 1891 and the early 1900s, Brisbane's expansion, the type of city which evolved and its employment opportunities, contributed to the increase of residents in the suburbs from Chelmer to Darra. This first generation of suburban residents possessed an outlook resembling the conservative outlook developed in the shire area since the 1860s. Still, such an outlook exhibited characteristics of its own, influenced by ideals associated with a suburban lifestyle, the gradual occupancy of the newly subdivided estates, and the presence of a middle class in the residential pattern which emerged.

Following the declaration of free settlement in 1842, Brisbane's expansion typified the urbanizational process as expressed by American sociologist, Amos Hawley:

A permanent relatively densely settled and administratively defined unit of territory, the residents of which gain their living primarily by specializing in a variety of non-agricultural activities.<sup>1</sup>

The population as it increased, concentrated itself close to Brisbane's centre, transforming the former convict agricultural area and nearby scrub into a residential, commercial and industrial entity.

During the 1880s, as a result of high immigration and natural increase, the population of the Brisbane area rapidly expanded. It increased from 37,053 in 1881, to 101,554 by 1891. Because the economic recession curtailed immigration, the rate slowed during the 1890s, so that by 1901, the population of 119,428 showed only a slight increase. By 1911, it had risen to 141,342.<sup>2</sup> The marked increase in population during the 1880s, provided the impetus for the subdivision of residential estates close to the railway in the Sherwood Shire. Still, in 1891, 92% of the population in the Brisbane area preferred to live within a five mile

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<sup>1</sup> Amos Hawley, *Urban Society: An Ecological Approach*. (New York: John Wiley and sons, 1981), p.7.

<sup>2</sup> Statistics of Queensland, *QPP*, 1902, vol.2, p.979, 1911-12, vol.1, p.755.



radius of the city area.<sup>3</sup> This trend continued into the 1900s, with growth in the outer suburbs less than that of the inner city.

In 1902, the Queensland Government officially declared Brisbane a city.<sup>4</sup> In addition to population concentration, several other aspects of Brisbane's growth confirmed its city status. British historian, Arnold Toynbee, considered that essential to the function of an urban community was the presence of various public buildings, with several dedicated to the transaction of common commercial and political business; at least one temple for the city's tutelage God; (and) a hall to provide office room for the city's (administration).<sup>5</sup>

Brisbane's several buildings included the Queensland National Bank, Parliament House, Roman Catholic and protestant churches, a hospital, and a town hall in Queen Street.

Upon Brisbane's elevation to city status, the municipal council administered the city centre and inner suburbs on the northside of the river, including Fortitude Valley, Spring Hill, Petrie Terrace, Bowen Hills, Teneriffe and Herston.<sup>6</sup> (Map 16, p.102) In 1903, on the opposite bank of the river, the town of South Brisbane, a separate local government, received city status.<sup>7</sup> Residents close to Brisbane in suburban Toowong, Hamilton and Windsor, and people domiciled in the suburbs on Brisbane's fringe, relied on their own local authority to administer services. For those moving to the Sherwood Shire in the early 1900s, gas-lit streets and tram services enjoyed by inner city residents did not exist, while the introduction of electricity was delayed until 1920.

Despite the appearance of a progressive inner city area, remnants of Brisbane's early days as a frontier town still lingered. The inner city continued to be troubled by sanitation

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<sup>3</sup> Ronald Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*. (St.Lucia, Q.:University of Queensland Press, 1973.),p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> G. Greenwood and J. Laverty, *Brisbane 1859-1959*. G. Greenwood, ed. (Brisbane: Oswald L. Ziegler for the Council of the City of Brisbane, 1959), p.254.

<sup>5</sup> Arnold Toynbee, ed., *Cities of Destiny*. (New York: Weather Vane Books, 1977), p.13.

<sup>6</sup> Greenwood and Laverty, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, pp. 254,257,364.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p.254; *QGG*, vol.81, no.79, 3 Oct. 1903,p.636.

and drainage problems, until the bubonic plague precipitated the Health Act of 1900 and the formation of the Metropolitan Joint Board for the Prevention of Epidemic Diseases.<sup>8</sup> The bubonic plague motivated house and land agents to extol the virtues of residing in the healthy outer suburbs.

As Brisbane expanded, those of similar status tended to reside in the same neighbourhoods. Historian, Ronald Lawson, associated this expansion with theories propounded by American sociologists Ernest Burgess and Homer Hoyt.<sup>9</sup> Burgess maintained that the expansion of densely populated inner city areas containing low status residents, encroached on, and forced affluent residents in less congested areas to move further out.<sup>10</sup> Hoyt considered that this movement occurred along strips close to transport systems.<sup>11</sup> To some extent Brisbane's early expansion appeared to support these theories. However, Lawson acknowledged that by the 1890s, affluent residents domiciled on several hills close to the inner city of Brisbane, were not dislodged by the encroachment of the less affluent, who, having moved from the inner city, now resided on the lower slopes of these hills.<sup>12</sup> Yet, without considering the British origins of the local population and the residential patterns with which they were familiar, Lawson still maintained that the American theory of urban expansion typified Brisbane's progress.<sup>13</sup> It could be argued, however, that the unconcern of the affluent on Brisbane's hills, coincided with the view of British sociologist, John Rex. He maintained that as the population expanded, and residential areas gradually extended from the city centre in nineteenth century English industrial cities, each class ably coped despite their proximity to one another. At times, this was aided by the presence of a railway line or canal which defined the boundary of a particular

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<sup>8</sup> Greenwood and Lavery, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, p.266; *QGG*, vol.79, no.73, 20 Sept.1902, pp.677-682.

<sup>9</sup> Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, p.98.

<sup>10</sup> E.W. Burgess, 'The Growth of the City', in *The City*. R. Park, E. Burgess, R. McKenzie, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p.50.

<sup>11</sup> H. Hoyt, 'The Pattern of Movement in Residential Neighbourhoods', in *Readings in Urban Geography*. B. Mayer, C. Kohn, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p.505.

<sup>12</sup> Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, p.104.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*



neighbourhood.<sup>14</sup> These circumstances reflected the expansion of suburbs in the Sherwood Shire, where the affluent and less affluent resided in adjacent neighbourhoods.

Brisbane exhibited other characteristics which revealed the type of city which had evolved, and the potential of this city to provide employment for the expanding population. As capital of Queensland since 1859, Brisbane depended on port facilities to stimulate its economy. In 1891, although 70% of the colony's imports passed through Brisbane, its position in the south-east corner of the colony restricted an export trade relying mainly on primary industries in rural areas.<sup>15</sup> Until 1900, railway construction linked rural areas of Queensland to regional ports rather than to the capital, allowing Townsville and Rockhampton to emerge as rival export centres. The combined export trade of other ports such as Cairns, Mackay, Gladstone and Maryborough, also affected Brisbane. By 1910, the extension of the railway system in Southern Queensland reduced the detrimental effect of the northern ports, so that Brisbane handled 69% of the State's seaward export trade. (Graph 1, p.56)

Still, Brisbane continued to lack the influence which the ports of Sydney and Melbourne had on their respective States. Nationally, the dominance of Sydney and Melbourne affected Brisbane's identity. Rich merchants and financiers normally operated from these two cities, so that the incidence of wealthy families in Brisbane was lower than that of southern capitals.<sup>16</sup> Most Australian and overseas firms located their central offices in Sydney or Melbourne, with branches established in other cities. Consequently, both these factors contributed to Brisbane's designation as a branch office city.<sup>17</sup>

Another urban characteristic associated with Brisbane's expansion lay in the use of modern technology. The introduction of electricity to the city centre during the 1890s, resulted in an effective tram service and the eventual replacement of gas street lighting with

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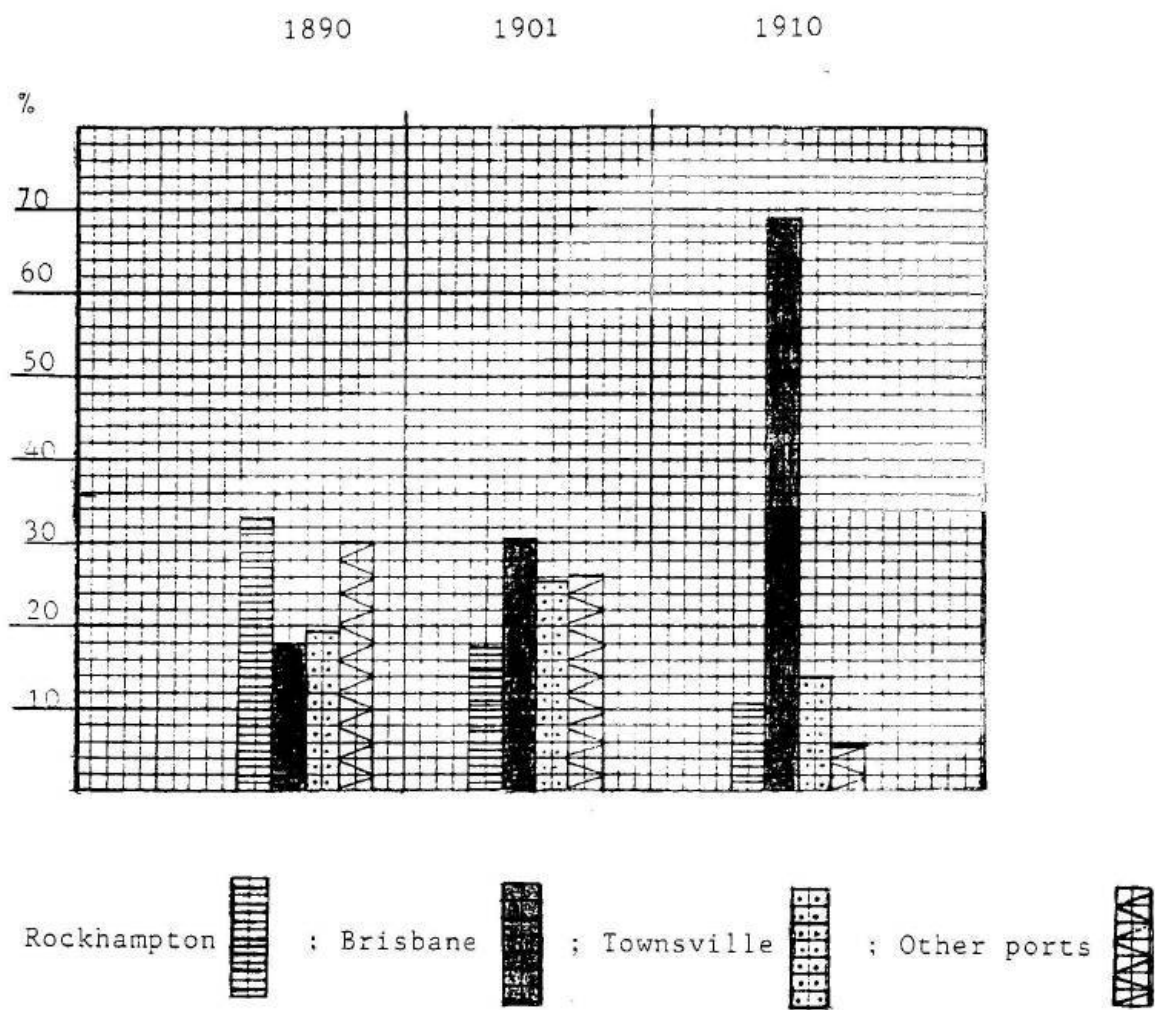
<sup>14</sup> John Rex, 'The Sociology of the Zone of Transition', in *Readings in Urban Sociology*. R. Pahl, ed. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1968), pp.211-213.

<sup>15</sup> 'Statistics of Queensland', *VPLAQ*, 1891, vol.3, p.386.

<sup>16</sup> Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, pp.45,60.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 45,60,89, end note 46.

**Graph 1**  
**Percentage of Queensland's seaward export trade from Brisbane, Rockhampton, Townsville and other ports, 1890-1910.**



Source: Statistics of Queensland, *VPLAQ*, 1891, vol.3, p.386, *QPP*, 1902, vol. 2, p.345, 1911-12, vol.1, p.881.



electric lighting. From 1876, the steam locomotives of the government railways enhanced Brisbane's port facilities and upgraded transport to the outer suburbs. Steam and electricity contributed to the establishment of small industries. The telephone and telegraph improved communication. By 1910, due to the use of nineteenth century advancements in technology, Brisbane could be described as an industrial city.

Because of its diversive characteristics, Brisbane provided a variety of employment opportunities. As the seat of government, it offered administrative positions in the State public service and railways. Skilled and unskilled workers operated and maintained railways servicing the suburbs of Brisbane, including those in the Sherwood Shire. Although from 1901, the federation of Australia favoured manufacturers in Sydney and Melbourne to the detriment of Brisbane, manufacturing attuned to both the export trade and local requirements recovered after 1910, with Brisbane the major manufacturing city in the State.<sup>18</sup>

**Table 1**  
**Incidence of Brisbane metropolitan and Queensland manufacturing industries, 1901-1919.**

	1901	1910	1919
Brisbane industries	548	492	558
Queensland industries	2110	1563	1754

(Out of 15,462 persons employed in manufacturing industries in Queensland, 10,699 were employed in the Brisbane area in 1900, representing 67 % of the industrial workforce.)

Source: 'Statistics of Queensland', *Q.P.P.*, 1902, vol.2, p.761, 1911-12, vol.1, p.1399, 1921, vol.2, p.414; M. Gough, *Queensland; Industrial Enigma*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1964, p.5.

Like Brisbane's port facilities, the city's manufacturing industries relied heavily on Queensland's primary production, and processed butter, cheese, flour, sugar and meat. Still, employment opportunities also existed in the city's small industries. In 1911, fifteen clothing manufacturers operated in Brisbane.<sup>19</sup> Sawmilling and brickmaking supplemented

<sup>18</sup> Glen Lewis, *A History of the Ports of Queensland: A Study of Economic Nationalism*. (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1973), pp. 133 and 134; M. Gough, *Queensland; Industrial Enigma*. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1964), p.5.

<sup>19</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1911, p.637.

the building industry. Foundries and shipbuilders, part of the fledgling heavy industry of the 1890s, had increased to twenty-nine by 1911,<sup>20</sup> and included firms such as Evans, Anderson and Phelan, and Sutton and Company, who had benefited from the few local contracts let by the Queensland Railways in the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>21</sup> Like the building industry, heavy industry provided employment for skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

During 1911 in the inner city, fifty nine retail stores listed as clothiers, mercers and drapers, enhanced employment opportunities for shop assistants.<sup>22</sup> House and land agents, such as Isles Love and King and Son, reflected the expansion of the city and its suburbs. These agents increased from seventy in 1905 to eighty five in 1915,<sup>23</sup> adding to Brisbane's employment opportunities. In 1911, Brisbane's professional services comprised sixty accountants, twenty three architects, and one hundred and ten barristers and solicitors.<sup>24</sup> Fourteen banks, including branches of six Australian and two overseas banks, together with branches and agents of over eighty national and overseas insurance companies, contributed to the commerce of the city, providing opportunities for clerical employment.<sup>25</sup> As Brisbane's industry and commerce expanded, employer organizations emerged, two of which, the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Manufacturers had functioned since the 1890s.<sup>26</sup>

Between 1890 and 1915, elements associated with Brisbane as the seat of government, chief port, an industrial, and a branch office city, influenced suburban expansion. Suburban growth in the Sherwood Shire, though attributable to Brisbane's population increase and the

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<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 653,654,665.

<sup>21</sup> G.F.R. Linge, *Industrial Awakening: A Geography of Australian Manufacturing, 1788 to 1890*. (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979), pp. 683-684.

<sup>22</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1911, pp. 640-641.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, 1905, p.48, 1915, pp.947-948.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, 1911, pp. 619,624-626,650,652,665,666.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, 1911, pp.653,656.

<sup>26</sup> Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, p.8.



detrimental effect of an unhealthy, closely settled inner city environment, also resulted from Brisbane's capacity to provide steady employment and a regular daily train service. Rather than change attitudes, the relationship between these influences and the residential pattern in the Sherwood Shire, contributed to the continuation of the conservative outlook adopted by the shire's original agricultural communities.

Australian urban historian, Alan Gilbert, considers that the Industrial Revolution accelerated anti-urban feeling in Britain, a trend with which many British migrants would have been familiar. Consequently, the urge to reside on the fringes of cities became a persistent social force in Australian society.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the movement to the outer suburbs of Brisbane resembled the ideal associated with suburbia in medieval Europe: enough wealth to escape the industrial environment for a cleaner, healthier neighbourhood in the nearby countryside.<sup>28</sup> Entrepreneurs, managers and professionals, the first of the urban employed to establish residence in the Sherwood and Chelmer area, attempted to maintain this atmosphere. Even so, this movement was not restricted to the affluent. Similar to the migration by the London working class to that city's outer suburbs at the end of the nineteenth century,<sup>29</sup> rail transport allowed the less affluent to escape to Brisbane's fringes.

The homes of the newer residents again reflected the ideal of suburbia, as these featured well-lit rooms 'oriented for sunlight', 'views' and 'breezes', with most homes set within green grounds and 'gardens'.<sup>30</sup> In 1901, of the 311 dwellings in the Sherwood Shire, 286 were timber built.<sup>31</sup> By 1919, when dwellings numbered 1100, timber homes still

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<sup>27</sup> Alan Gilbert, 'The Roots of Anti-suburbanism in Australia', in *Australian Cultural History*. S.L.Goldberg and F.B. Smith, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988),p.34.

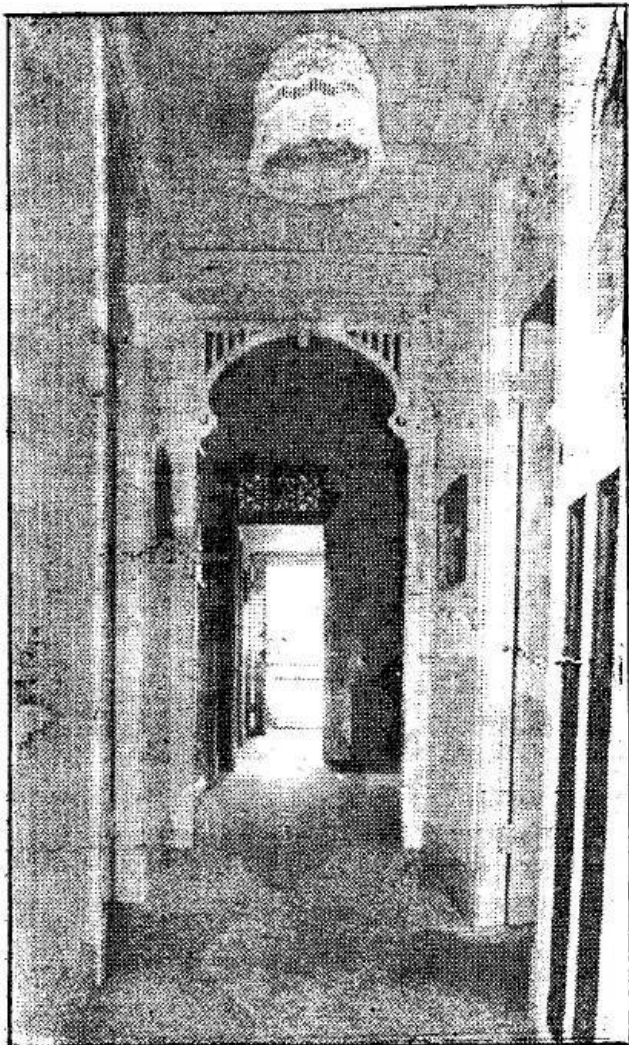
<sup>28</sup> Lewis Mumford, *The City in History*. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, reprint 1979), pp.549,552,554.

<sup>29</sup> D.C. Thorne, *Suburbia*. (London:MacGibbon and Kee, 1972), p.48.

<sup>30</sup> Mumford, *The City in History*, pp.552,558.

<sup>31</sup> 'Statistics of Queensland', *QPP*, 1902, vol.2, p.993.





Well lit interiors in homes  
constructed during the early 1900s.

Left. Cottage at Sherwood.  
Below. Home at Graceville.

(Daily Sun,

← 22 June 1985, p.33,  
22 March 1986, p.23)





dominated,<sup>32</sup> with most high set, complemented by verandahs, formerly a decorative addition, now an essential part of the construction.<sup>33</sup> When Dr. Alexander Francis erected a timber home at Sherwood in 1898, in addition to the 'large airy rooms', it contained a twelve foot wide verandah on the north and east side to benefit from the regular sea breezes.<sup>34</sup>

'Edgecliffe', the residence of railway engineer, Alexander Raff of Corinda, contained four inner rooms, plus nursery, kitchen and servants' quarters, and featured three rooms opening on to verandahs located on three sides of the house. Situated on almost four acres of land on the hill at Corinda, 'Edgecliffe' overlooked the Oxley Creek valley to the east, and received the south-easterlies which blew along this valley. Besides, its position allowed views westward across the Brisbane River to Fig Tree Pocket and the D'Agular Range.<sup>35</sup>

The large timber homes of the affluent located above the Brisbane River and Oxley Creek, resembled the homes of those of similar status on the hilltops of the inner suburbs of Taringa and Toowong. Enterprising real estate agents labelled these homes 'villas', a term initially associated with the country and suburban residences of the rich in medieval Europe. Nonetheless, the smaller houses of the less affluent still reflected the suburban ideal. In addition to the low-set workers dwelling, there were five room cottages or six room 'colonial' homes, high-set, and capped with either gable or hipped roofs.<sup>36</sup> These were built mostly on double sixteen perch allotments, the neat surroundings enhanced by a small garden.

In attempting to avoid the detrimental effect of an inner city environment, those who chose to reside in the suburbs located in the Sherwood Shire, reflected the view of urban

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<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, 1921. vol.2, p.287.

<sup>33</sup> Ray Sumner, 'The Brisbane House in Historical Context', *Brisbane History Group Papers*, no.3, 1985, p.31.

<sup>34</sup> Alexander Francis, *Then and Now*. (London: Chapman Hall, 1935), p.186.

<sup>35</sup> Sale advertisement, *Brisbane Courier*, 11 Feb. 1899, p.12.

<sup>36</sup> General description, Meredith Walker, 'Delineating the character of the Queensland house', *Brisbane History Group Papers*, no.1, 1981, p.42.





Former home of Joseph Sutton, Chelmer.

(G.M. Bailey historical collection, 1959)

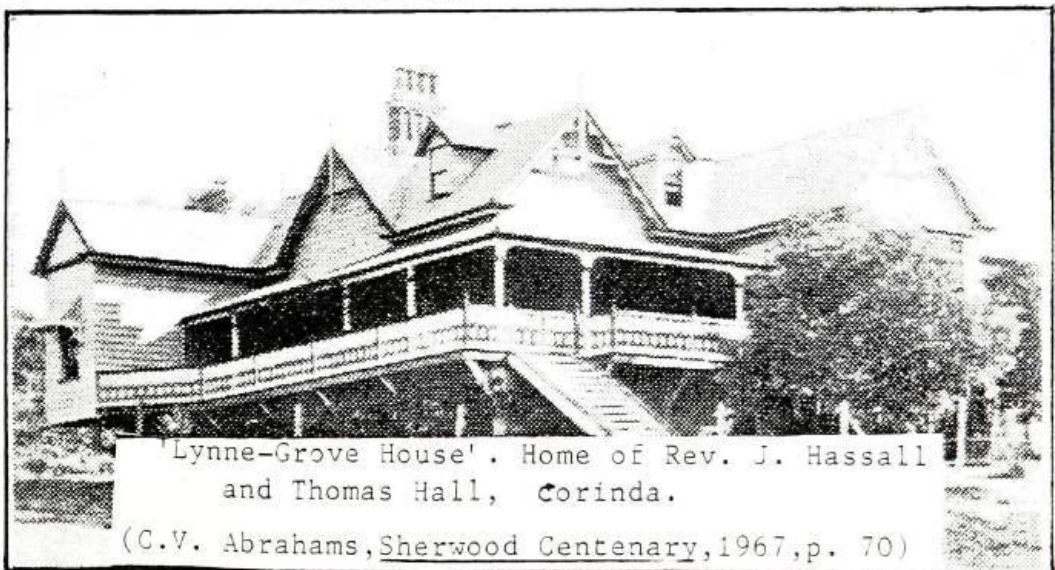
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Former home of Charles Stumm, a Chief Justice of Queensland and resident of Chelmer. This home was originally set on 120 perches.

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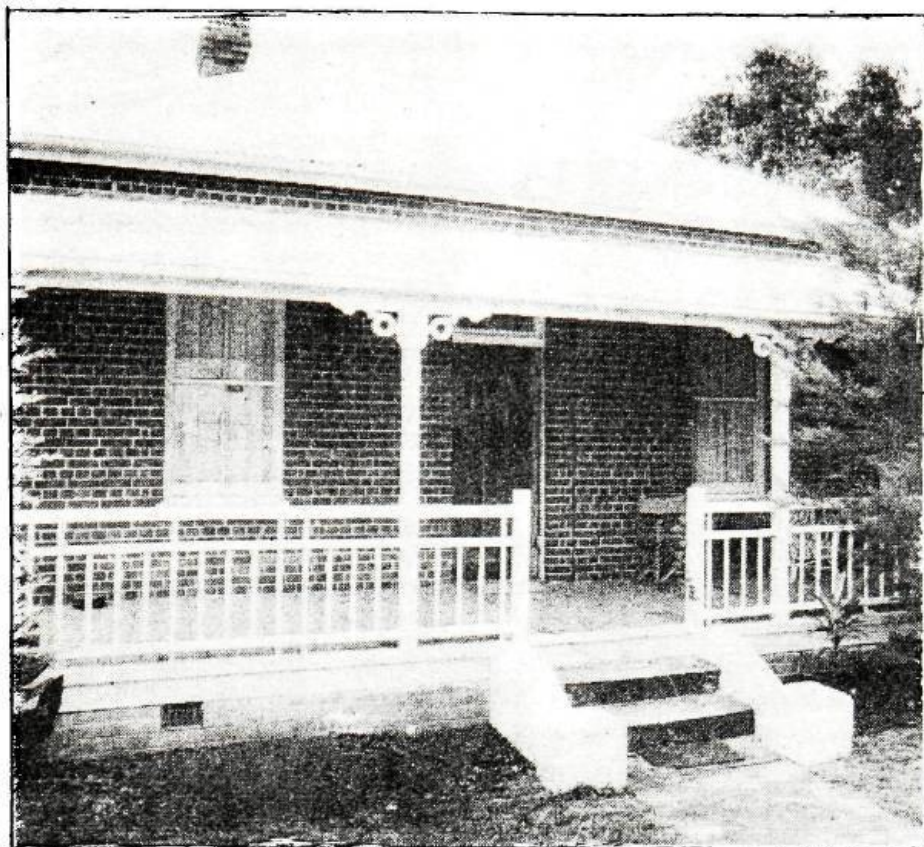
(Satellite, 14 January 1987, p.26)



'Lynne-Grove House'. Home of Rev. J. Hassall and Thomas Hall, Corinda.

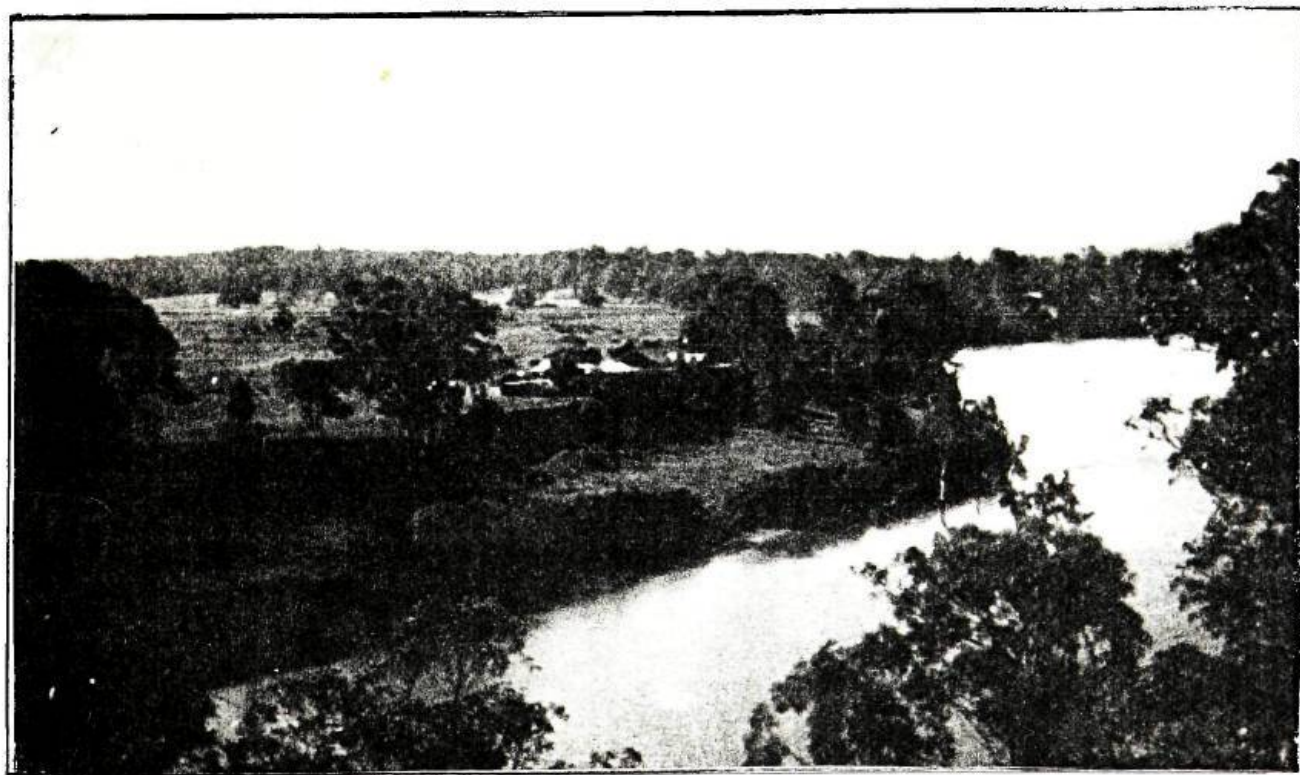
(C.V. Abrahams, Sherwood Centenary, 1967, p. 70)





One of the few brick homes, Sherwood, c.1920s.

(Satellite, 21 January 1987, p.25)



View from near Alex Raff's home 'Edgecliffe',  
Corinda, looking across Fig Tree Pocket.

(Photo, Author's own possession, taken 1950.

analyst, Lewis Mumford. He considered that such a move expressed a desire for a lifestyle 'free of drama, unexpected challenges, tensions and dilemmas'.<sup>37</sup> This desire contributed to an outlook unreceptive to new ideas or progressive thinking. Even so, such an outlook was further enhanced by the slow rate of population growth within the local area.

While many embraced the suburban lifestyle, a mass movement to the Sherwood Shire did not occur. As the population growth reveals, the local suburbs gradually expanded, with the shire population showing a slight increase from 2331 in 1891, to 2667 by 1900. By 1910, it had grown to 4050. Although this figure indicated a greater increase than the previous decade, growth between 1910 and 1920 eased. By 1919, the population had only risen to 5000.<sup>38</sup> Between 1891 and 1910, building proceeded slowly, so that the occupancy and construction of dwellings also reflected the population growth. But from 1910 to 1919, although population growth had eased, the number of occupied dwellings had doubled.

**Table 2**  
**Population increase and occupancy of dwellings, Sherwood Shire, 1891-1919.**

	1891	1895	1901	1910	1919
Population	2331	1191*	2667	4050*	5000*
Dwellings	230	235*	311	500*	1100*

\* *VPLAQ* and *QPP* indicate that these are estimated figures.

(Source: 'Statistics of Queensland', *VPLAQ*, 1892, vol.3, p.322, 1896, vol.3, p.619, *QPP*, 1902, vol.2, pp. 313,951, 1911-12, vol.1, p.1293, 1921, vol.2, p.287.)

Fluctuation in the shire's population during the 1890s and early 1900s, can be associated with events affecting the whole of Brisbane. The 1893 depression in curtailing overseas immigration, appears to have affected the livelihood of those living in residential estates, and together with the effects of the 1893 flood, probably contributed to the reduction in population. Surnames unconnected with long term agricultural families listed in post office directories of the early 1890s, do not appear in the 1900 directory. Still, the 1901

<sup>37</sup> Mumford, *The City in History*, p.562.

<sup>38</sup> 'Statistics of Queensland', *QPP*, 1902, vol.2, p.951, 1911-12, vol.1, p.1293, 1921, vol.1, p.287.



figure in Table 2, reflects a resurgence in population growth during the late 1890s. The shire probably owed its increase of 1300 residents between 1901 and 1910 to reaction to the bubonic plague, 1900-1902. The slow population growth from 1910, could be attributed to the influx of newly-weds, rather than large families. The newly-weds would have occupied a greater number of dwellings. Subsequently, between 1920 and 1925, as they raised families, they contributed to the increase in population from 5000 to 7000.<sup>39</sup>

Although events affecting most of Brisbane generally influenced the slow population growth, local circumstances specifically contributed to the gradual suburban expansion in the shire. Rail transport may have allowed the less affluent to escape to Brisbane's fringes, but high rail fares initially restricted the number of workers migrating to the outer suburbs. In 1905, second class single fares from Corinda to Brisbane's Central railway station, seven miles, cost sixpence, with first class single fares, nine pence.<sup>40</sup> Compared with the little expense involved for workers living in the inner city who walked to work, the cost of rail fares would have limited the number of less affluent moving to the outer suburbs. While the rail fares may have deterred government labourers earning 8/- a day, government senior and junior clerks also found them costly. Senior clerk's wages averaged £4 per week, with junior clerk's £2/6/- weekly.<sup>41</sup> Second class rail fares over a five and a half day working week, accounted for at least 7½ % of a senior clerk's weekly earnings and 13 % of a junior clerk's pay.

Members of the Sherwood Shire Council protested against the rail fares being higher than the racecourse suburbs on Brisbane's northside, a similar distance by rail from the city.<sup>42</sup> The daily press echoed the discontent. In 1906, the *Brisbane Courier* extolled the virtues of the shire's rural environment and the associated garden suburbs, maintaining the while 'Eden' had its serpent, the local area had its own problem - the excessive rail fares

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<sup>39</sup> *Brisbane Centenary Official Historical Souvenir*. (Brisbane: Centenary Committee, 1924), p.182.

<sup>40</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1905, p.163.

<sup>41</sup> 'Blue books', *VPLAQ*, 1901, vol.2, p.195.

<sup>42</sup> Local knowledge and reports of shire council meetings, *Brisbane Courier*, 1899.

to the city.<sup>43</sup> The number of train passengers from Chelmer to Oxley who were not holders of season tickets, had increased from 64,709 in 1891, to 119,784 by 1906,<sup>44</sup> indicating the high degree of local support for rail travel. By 1910, the protests had produced a positive response. Single second class fares from Corinda to Central were reduced to twopence, with first class fares, four pence;<sup>45</sup> the second class fares no doubt attracting the newly-wed low wage earners.

Other local influences which curtailed suburban expansion, are revealed in the slow response to both the sale of land in residential subdivisions and the purchase of homes erected on the numerous suburban estates. In 1864, land was subdivided in Oxley in anticipation of a township being established on high ground adjacent to the Ipswich Road, a mile to the west of the flood-prone Oxley Creek. Although this township failed to eventuate, a village emerged close by at the intersection of Ipswich Road and the road to Oxley West. In 1876, this village comprised an hotel, a church, a store and a blacksmith, with only a few of the 35 to 80 perch residential allotments occupied. (Map 9, p.68) In 1874, the establishment of the Oxley railway station, half a mile to the north, precipitated the subdivision of 180 residential allotments in a premature attempt to establish another Oxley township.<sup>46</sup> Further north in Oxley West, the original Sherwood township, briefly named Rowland after the government official who surveyed it in the late 1870s, bordered the northern side of the road to Rocky Waterholes.<sup>47</sup> Although the local school and a church were located in the surveyed area, only minimal residential development occurred within the Sherwood township. (Map 8, p.67 and Map 10, p.71)

From the mid-1880s, residential subdivision adjacent to the railway began in earnest. Allotments in the Sherwood Park estate located north of Sherwood railway station were

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<sup>43</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 9 June 1906, p.12, 23 June 1906, p.12.

<sup>44</sup> Reports of railway commissioners, *VPLAQ*, 1891, vol. 4, pp.424-5, *QPP*, 1906, vol.2, p.980.

<sup>45</sup> Rail fares, *QGG*, vol.94, no.140, 14 June 1910, p.1690.

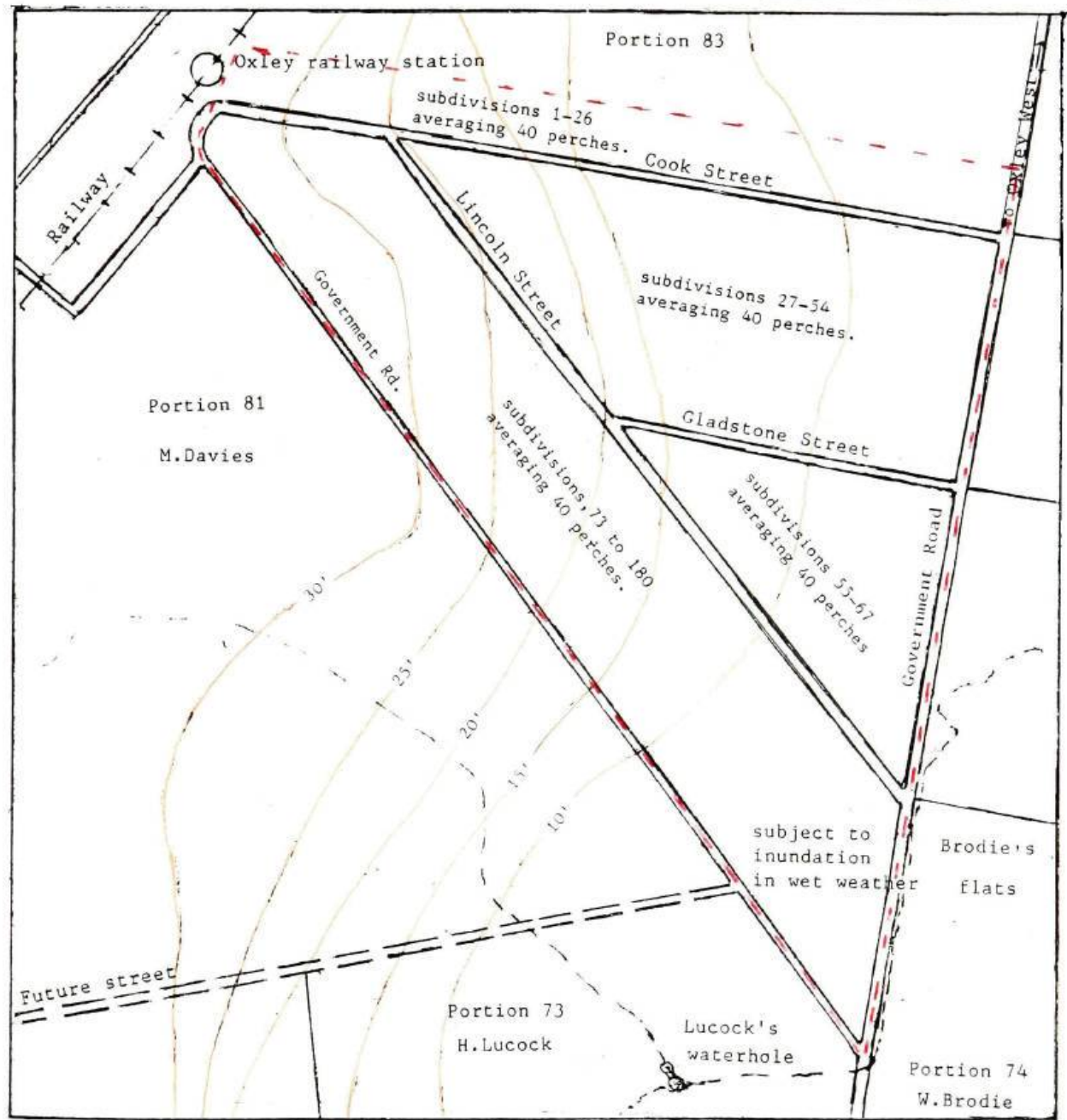
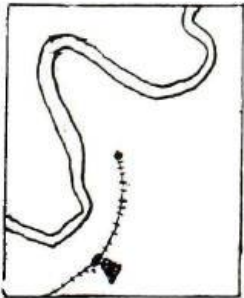
<sup>46</sup> Maps, *Township of Oxley*, 1864, *Township of Oxley* 1874, John Oxley Library; *Plan of Oxley*, parish of Oxley, 1876, QSA, 1/28, 1876.

<sup>47</sup> Sherwood Township boundaries, in C.V. Abrahams, ed., *Sherwood District Centenary Celebrations, 1867-1967*. (Sherwood, Q.: Sherwood District Weekly, 1967), p.47.



Map 8

OXLEY TOWNSHIP ESTATE, 1874.



Legend

- Estate Boundary - - - - -
- Contours, ft 30'
- Seasonal stream

scale

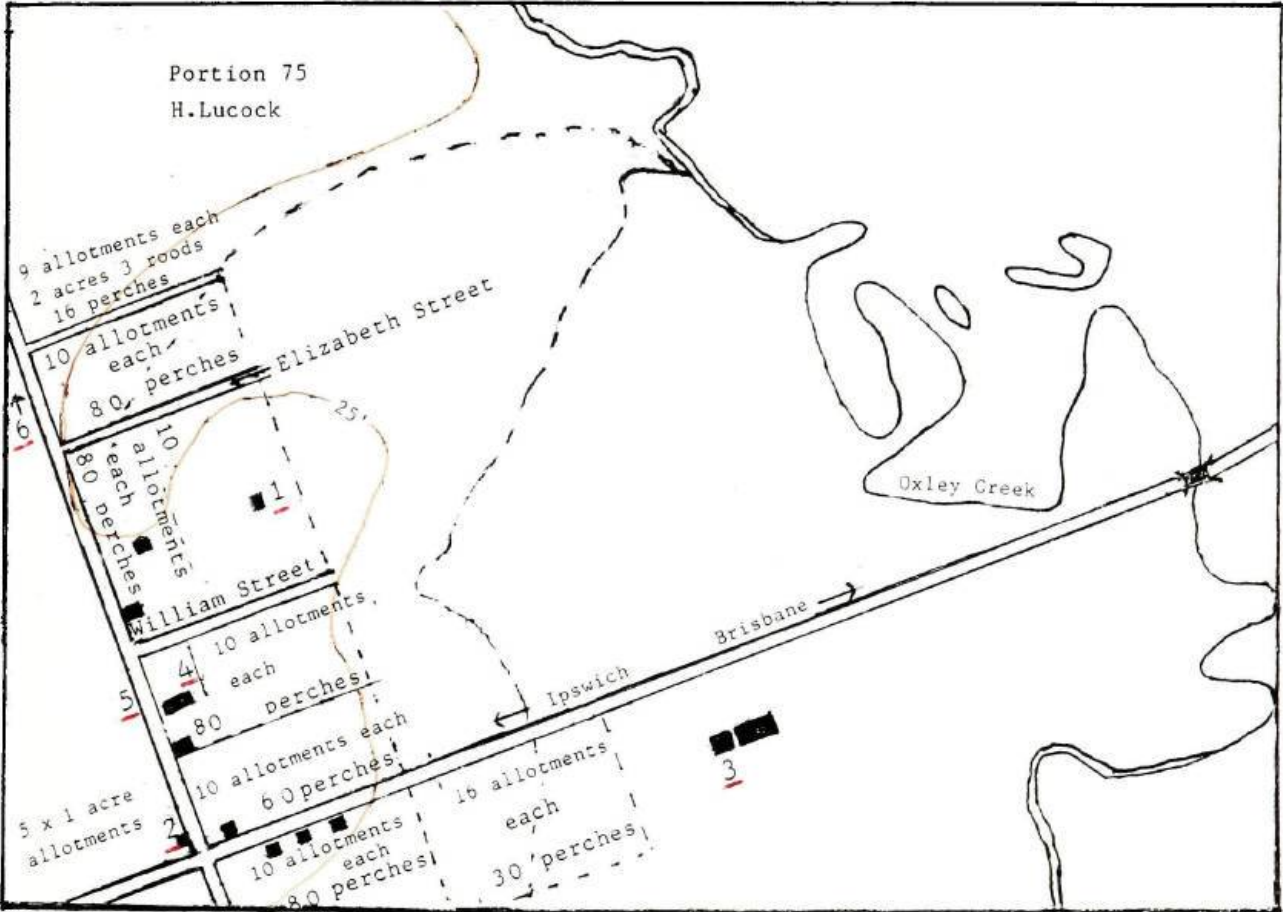
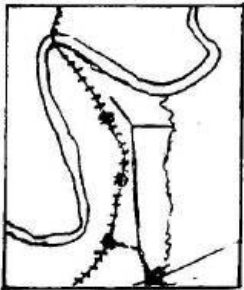


one inch = 135 yards

Source: Oxley Township Estate, real estate subdivision map, 1874, John Oxley Library; physical features, map, Ipswich one mile series, 1950.

OXLEY TOWNSHIP, 1876.

(Developed as a village, 1862-1876)



- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Oxley state school                 | 4. Non-denominational church               |
| 2. Oxley hotel                        | 5. Government road                         |
| 3. Site of first hotel and racecourse | 6. To Oxley railway station and Oxley West |

scale

one inch = 220 yards

Legend: Buildings: ■ Contours.ft 25' Bridge

Seasonal stream



Source: Map, Plan of Oxley, Q-S A, 1/4 A1/28, 1876,  
Contours, map, Ipswich one mile series, 1950.



<b>BRISBANE'S GARDEN</b>		
<b>DARRA</b>	<b>CITY</b>	<b>DARRA</b>
<b>Shortly</b>	<b>R. G. OATES</b>	<b>Shortly</b>
<b>630</b>	<b>ESTATES</b>	<b>630</b>
<b>Home-</b>	Famous for low	<b>Home-</b>
<b>stead</b>	prices and low	<b>stead</b>
<b>Blocks</b>	<b>TERMS</b>	<b>Blocks</b>
	<b>2d. a Day</b>	
<b>QUEEN</b>	<b>GEORGE</b>	<b>BUILDINGS</b>
1st Floor	Entrance	George Street.

Real estate advertisement, Darra, 1921.

(Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue, p.56)

offered for sale. Subdivision south of Sherwood station produced Sherwood Rise estate.<sup>48</sup> In June 1888, J.F. Buckland, Brisbane estate agent, auctioned 150 allotments in the Township of Sherwood estate situated in the eastern part of the suburb, bordering the surveyed Sherwood township. The branch railway to South Brisbane ran through the eastern section of the estate. (Map 10, p.71) In the nearby suburbs of Graceville and Chelmer, land close to the Ipswich-Brisbane railway was sold as part of the Oatland's\* and the Riverton estates.<sup>49</sup> Other residential land for sale between the mid-1880s and 1915, included the Primrose estate at Chelmer, the Johnston estate at Sherwood, the Francis estate at Corinda and the Oates estate at Darra.<sup>50</sup> (Map 12, p.74) Three of these estates were named after their former owners, Gilbert Primrose, Thomas Johnston, and Arthur Francis, while Oates estate bore the name of a city estate agent.

Real estate advertisements reveal the strategies adopted to entice city dwellers to the urban fringe. In December 1900, when the Brisbane real estate firm Isles Love and Company auctioned land previously owned by the Primrose family of Chelmer, two acre, one acre, and half acre blocks were offered along a quarter mile reach of the Brisbane River. Isles Love advertisements focused on two aspects concerning the possible future use of the estate: primarily, its suitability as a residential area, and secondly its potential as an agricultural investment. Focusing on the estate's residential qualities, advertisements emphasized the proximity of Chelmer railway station and the daily service of thirty six trains.<sup>51</sup> Although the estate flooded in 1893, another major selling point stressed the advantages of a river frontage 'in the coolest and breeziest part of the suburbs', with the added benefit of 'good boating facilities'. Reference to regular bathing in the river, apparently alluded to the sandy beach formed by the 1893 flood between the railway bridge

\* Referred to in later years as the Oakland's or Oakland Park Estate.

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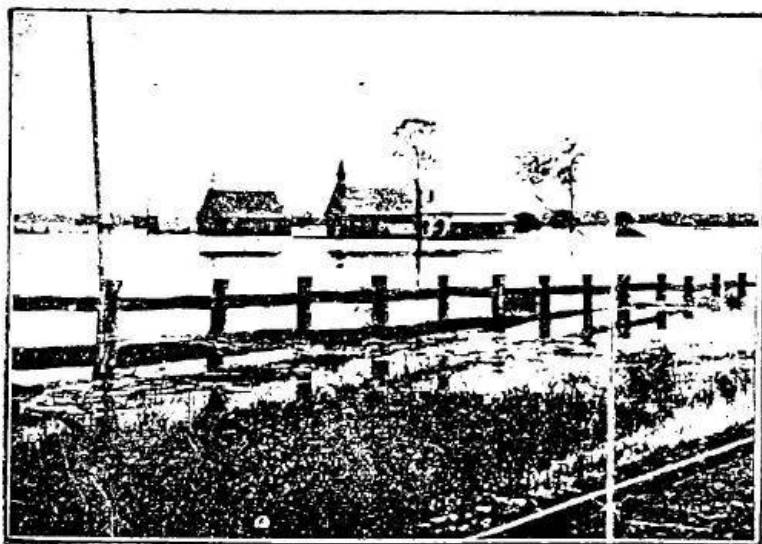
<sup>48</sup> Estate map, *Sherwood Rise*, 1887, John Oxley Library.

<sup>49</sup> Estate maps, *Township of Sherwood*, 1888, *Oatland's*, 1888, *Riverton*, 1890, John Oxley Library.

<sup>50</sup> Estate maps, *Primrose*, 1900, *Francis*, 1911-1913, John Oxley Library; addresses in *Queensland Electoral Rolls*, *Oxley Electorate*, 1900, 1915; advertisement in the *Sherwood Shire Agricultural, Horticultural and Industrial Society, Souvenir Catalogue*, first annual show, 1921, p.56.

<sup>51</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 17 Nov. 1900, p.8, 8 Dec. 1900, p.8.



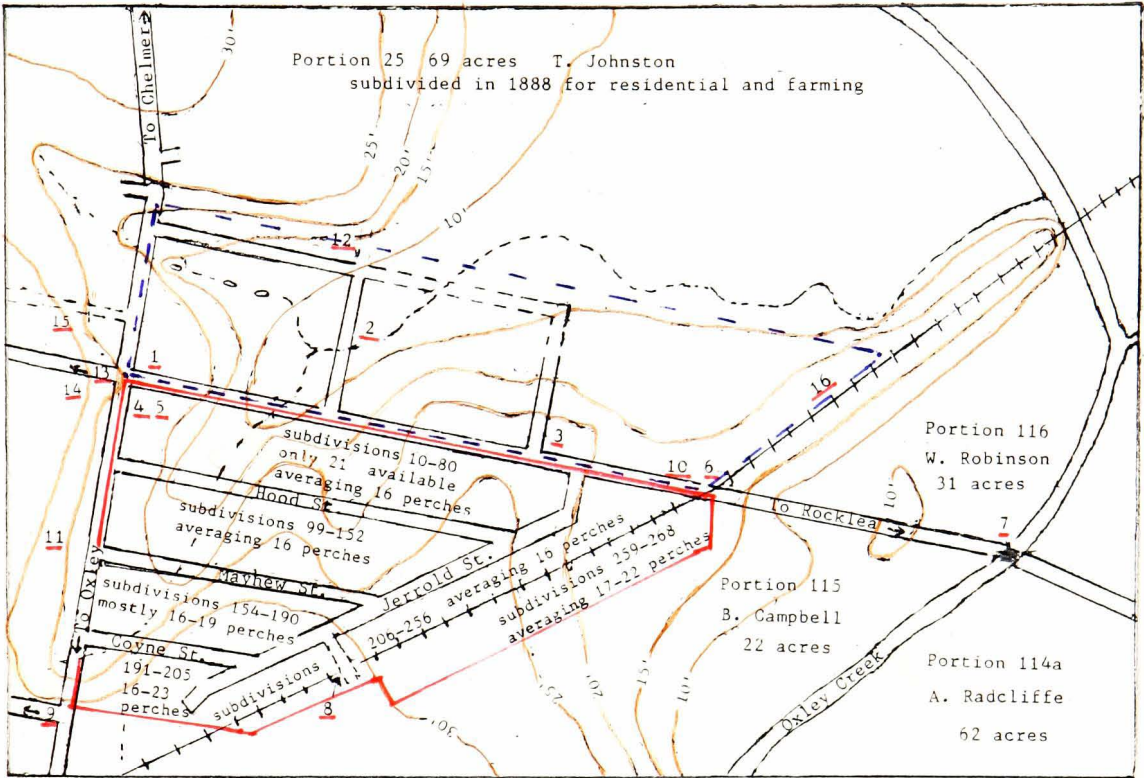
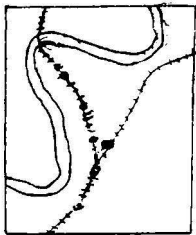


Eastern section of this sparsely populated estate, during 1893 flood. In background, first and second St. Matthew's Churches, Sherwood. Photo taken from Corinda-South Brisbane railway.

(Queenslander, 26 November, 1921, p.23)

Map 10

TOWNSHIP OF SHERWOOD ESTATE, 1888.



- |                          |                          |                          |                             |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Sherwood school.      | 5. Butcher shop.         | 10. First store.         | 14. Bakery.                 |
| 2. Watercourse.          | 6. Level crossing.       | 11. Presbyterian church. | 15. Wesleyan church.        |
| 3. St. Matthew's church. | 7. Bridge (opened 1864). | 12. Orange lodge hall.   | 16. South Brisbane railway. |
| 4. Store.                | 8. Easement.             | 13. To Sherwood station. |                             |
|                          | 9. To Quarry.            |                          |                             |

scale  
one inch = 200 yards

LEGEND

- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| Contours: ft 25' | Streams: perennial.   |
|                  | seasonal.             |
| Railway line:    | Streets: constructed. |
| Bridge :         | future.               |

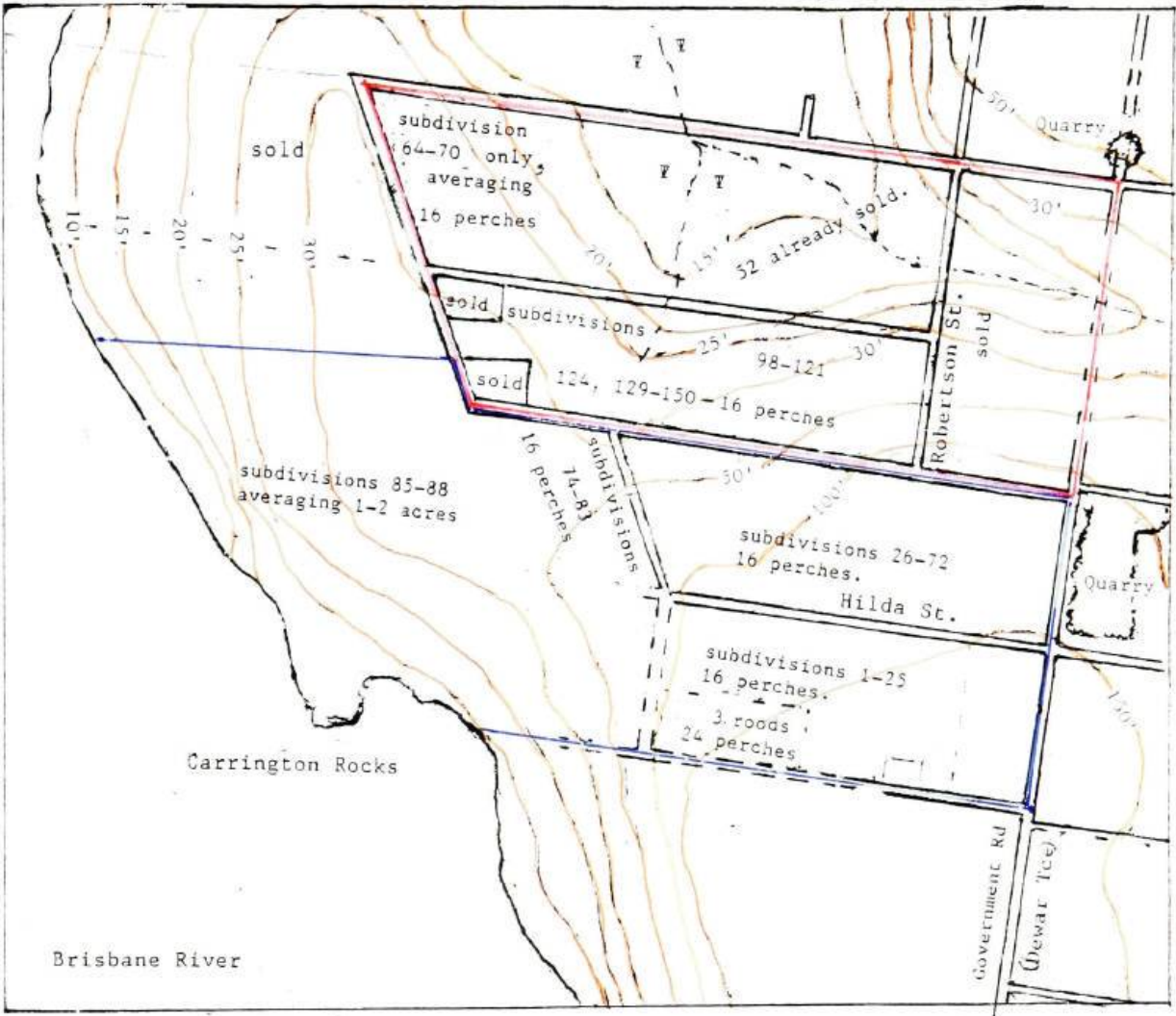
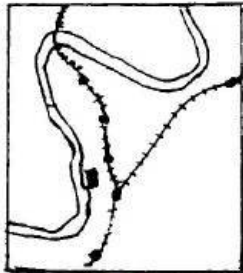
Boundary, surveyed Township of Rowland (Sherwood), c.1876.

Boundary, Township of Sherwood Estate

Source: Advertisement Sherwood Township Estate. 23 June 1888, John Oxley Library.  
Physical features, map, Ipswich one mile series, 1950.  
Holdings, map, parish of Oxley, D S A, 1888.



Map 11  
FRANCIS ESTATE, CORINDA, 1911-1913.



LEGEND

Contours Ft 30'

Swamps: seasonal. T T

Streets: constructed ==  
future ---

Estate boundary  
1911 1913

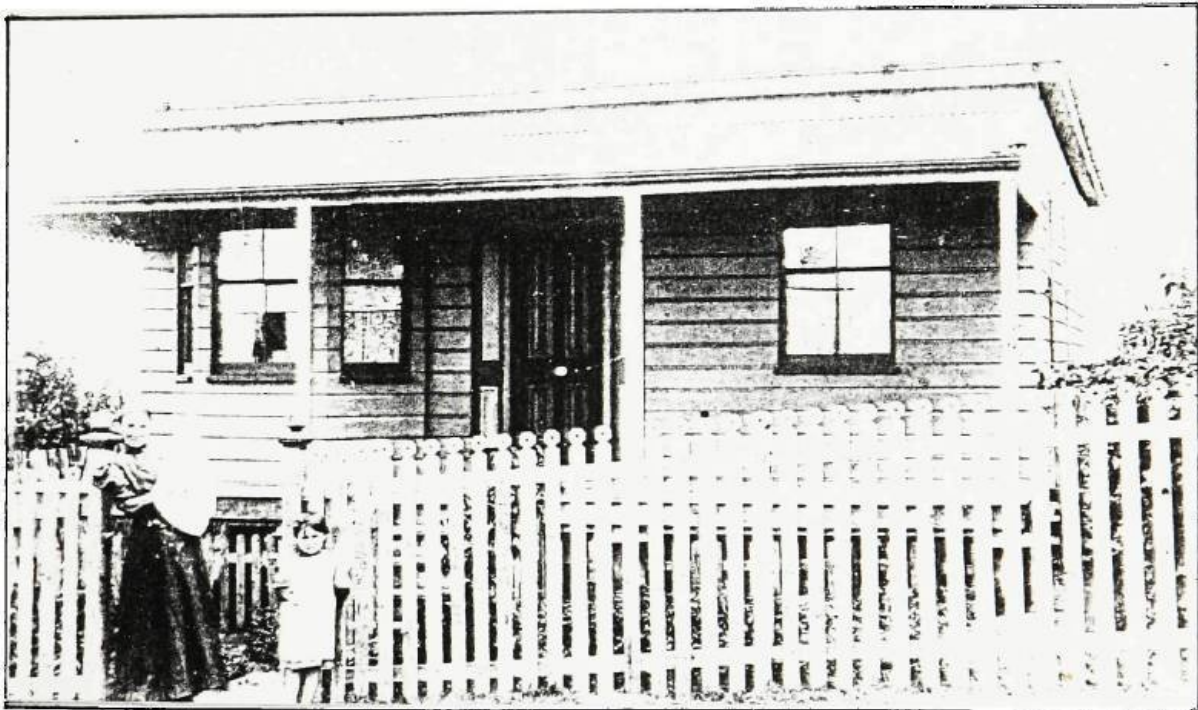
scale  
one inch = 150 yards



Source: Francis Estate, John Oxley Library ;  
physical features, map, Ipswich one mile series, 1950.



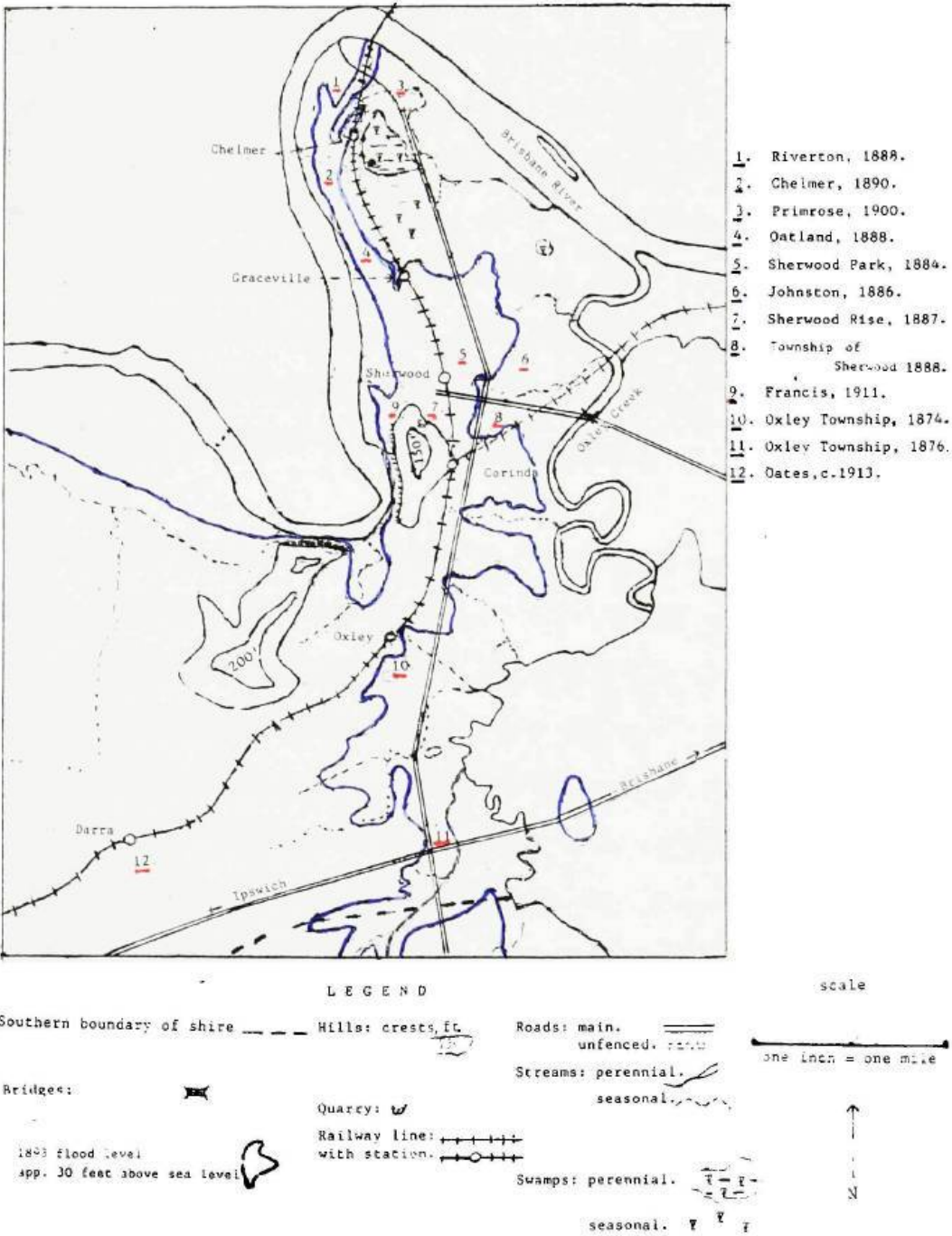
Worker's dwelling, Ipswich Road,  
Oxley, 1900.  
(John Oxley Library)



Skilled workers dwelling, Oakland Park estate,  
Graceville, 1897.  
(John Oxley Library)



Map 12  
SAMPLE OF RESIDENTIAL ESTATES,  
CHELMER to DARRA, 1874 - 1913.



Source: File of real estate maps, John Oxley Library;  
Land auctions, Brisbane Courier, 1890 - 1900;  
Physical features, map, Ipswich one mile series, 1930;  
Map, Greater Brisbane Area inundated by the 1893 flood, Irrigation  
and Water Supply Commission, vol. 2, 1928, pp. 31-32.

and the estate. Isles Love offered terms of one fifth cash, balance in three years at 4% interest, or five years at 6%.<sup>52</sup> Despite these inducements, residential development occurred only in the elevated portion of the estate, approximately twenty feet above sea level, with the lower section serving as a grazing area for dairy cattle. (Map 13, p.76)

As the Primrose estate demonstrated, subdivision did not necessarily produce closely populated residential areas in the shire. While the Riverton estate at Chelmer attracted residents with professional and managerial occupations, gradual development remained a key element in the residential pattern. During 1910, unsold unimproved allotments in estates subdivided in the 1880s and 1890s, continued to be auctioned or advertised for private sale. Isles Love offered 16 perch allotments at 'low prices and easy terms' in the Township of Sherwood estate, first auctioned in June 1888. A water main adjacent to the area had yet to supply reticulated water to the whole estate. Isles Love advertisements emphasized the 'splendid high position' despite the 1893 flood covering half the estate.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to flooding and the lack of reticulated water on some estates, distance from the city appeared to be a deterrent. On Corinda Hill, in 1910, six half acre 'well elevated allotments', genuinely above flood level, were offered for £80 each by estate agents King and King, in an area subdivided during the 1880s. These allotments were close to the railway station and cheaper than a quarter acre, high corner block priced at £120, adjoining the railway in the inner suburb of Taringa. In an endeavour to sell allotments, real estate advertisements continued to highlight the advantages of the railway, or the clean healthy air of a rural/park environment, 'where the breezes blow, the flowers bloom and the birds sing'.<sup>54</sup> Still, competition with suburbs like Toowong, Taringa and Indooroopilly, situated between the Sherwood Shire and the city, continued to adversely affect the expansion of suburbs within the shire. The attempted sale of homes reveals the difficulties involved in inducing new residents to the area, replacing those who had moved out.

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<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*

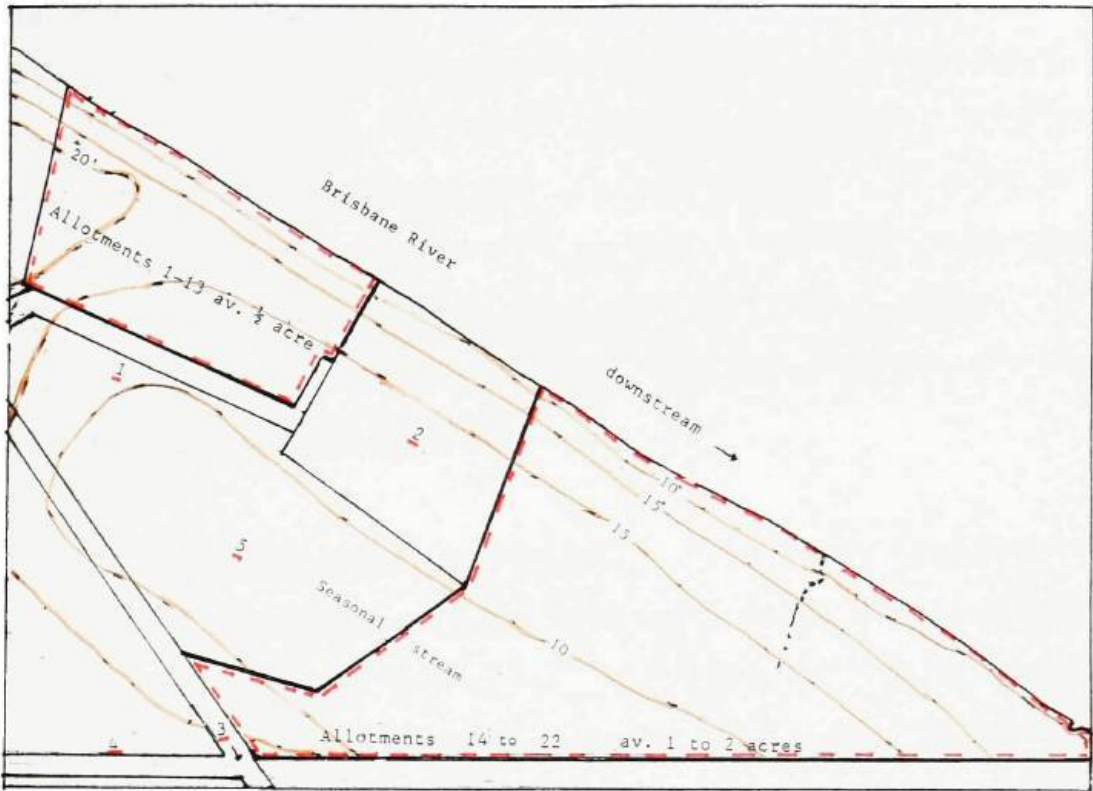
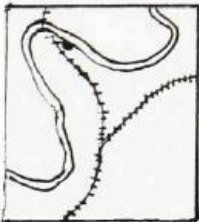
<sup>53</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 19 Feb. 1910, p.8; *Trustees Quarterly Review*, July 1909, p.59.

<sup>54</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 19 Feb. 1910, p.8, 14 May 1910, p.12; Herbert Hoare, land agent, advertisement, *Sherwood Station Estate*, 1928, John Oxley Library.



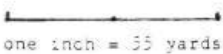
Map 13

PRIMROSE ESTATE, CHELMER, 1900



- 1. Rosebery Terrace    2. 'Bronte' (Primrose home)
- 3. Road to Oxley       4. Bridge street
- 5. reserve for recreational purposes

scale



Legend

- Roads                      ————
- Contours ft              10'
- Estate boundary        - - - - -



The 1893 flood would have reached at least five feet above the highest point.

Source: Map, Primrose Estate, John Oxley Library. (date should be 1900); contours from Brisbane flood map, Dept. of Lands, Feb. 1974; other physical features, map, Ipswich one mile series, 1950.

In 1910 at Graceville, a 'splendid' seven room home situated on ninety perches of land, and advertised for £400, remained unsold for at least a month. On Corinda Hill, the advertised price of £650 for a nine room home on a three quarter acre block, matched that of a 'commodious residence' on half an acre at Indooroopilly, and another at Toowong near the tram line.<sup>55</sup> Even newly built homes, some with household conveniences, experienced strong competition from the inner suburbs. During 1919, a six room Sherwood home constructed in 1917, complete with bathroom, gardens front and back, and priced at £650, competed with a new 'villa' at Toowong. This 'villa', close to the tramline and advertised for £700, contained six rooms plus bathroom, pantry and side verandahs. A seven room Sherwood 'villa', newly constructed, complete with gas supply, reticulated water, and offered for sale at £1150, was slightly higher in price than a seven room 'superior villa' with similar household conveniences on Taringa heights. Situated on half an acre, the advertised price for this 'superior villa' was £1000.<sup>56</sup>

The difficulty of selling a home may have contributed to some residents remaining for lengthy periods in the shire. Alexander Raff's nine room home, 'Edgecliffe', on Corinda Hill, advertised for sale in 1899 for an undisclosed sum, remained the family home until after World War II.<sup>57</sup> Again at Corinda, the home of Samuel Sowden, advertised in 1910 as a new eight room home in a 'charming' situation,<sup>58</sup> continued as the family residence until the 1940s.

Despite the 'clean', 'healthy', 'open' environment of the Sherwood Shire, residential areas closer to the city such as Taringa and Toowong, proved a greater attraction to suburban residents. These suburbs still had open space, with views and cool breezes enhancing the hilltops. Trams as well as trains provided regular transport. Residents with vehicles suffered less inconvenience than residents of Chelmer and Graceville, who had to cross the river at Oxley Point by vehicular ferry, until the construction of a road bridge in

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<sup>55</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 15 Jan. 1910, p.8, 5 Feb. 1910, p.8.

<sup>56</sup> Homes advertised in *Brisbane Courier*, 4 Jan. 1919, p.9, 11 Feb. 1919, p.10, 29 March, 1919, pp. 8,9.

<sup>57</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 11 Feb. 1899, p.12.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*, 2 April 1910, p.9.

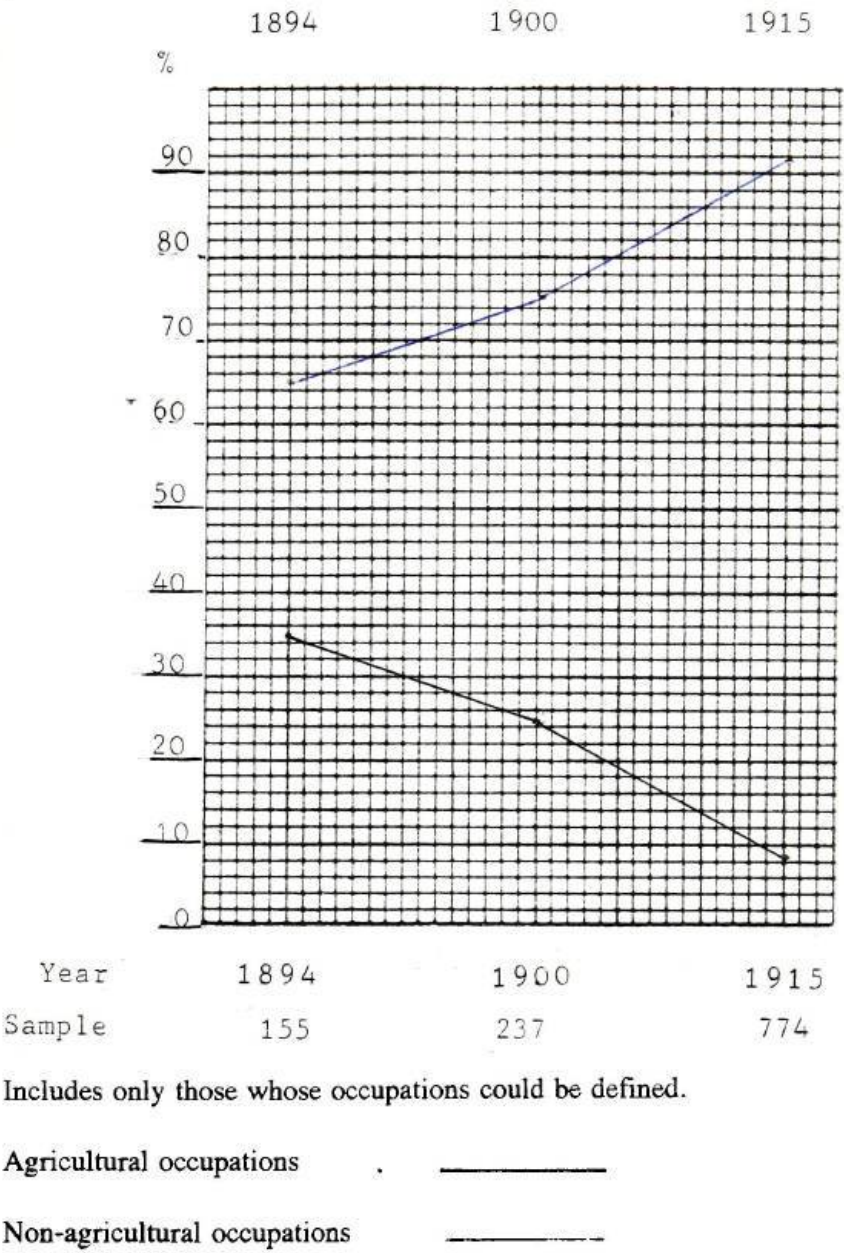


1936.

As a result of slow suburban development in the Sherwood Shire, the unsold and undeveloped allotments on residential estates allowed for greater space between homes than those in the inner city, thus contributing to the retention of a rural environment. The problem of selling houses often resulted in lengthy residence, which in turn, assisted in maintaining the stability of a neighbourhood. These factors perpetuated the traditional ideal of suburbia, 'a lifestyle free of drama, tensions and dilemmas', exemplified in the conservative outlook.

Another aspect of suburban development which strengthened the conservative outlook in the shire, concerned the occupation and status of the newer residents, and the relationship of some residents with their employers. From the 1890s, the gradual rise in the shire population led to an increase in the percentage of males in occupations unrelated to agriculture.

Graph 2  
Percentage of males in agricultural and non-agricultural employment, Sherwood Shire, 1894-1915.



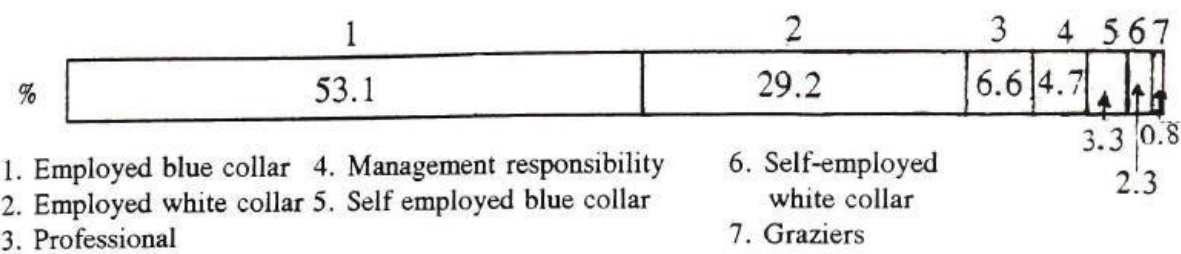
Source: Occupations recorded in the *Queensland Electoral Rolls, Oxley Electorates*, 1894, 1900, 1915; *Queensland Post Office Directories*, 1894-5, 1900. See Appendices A(i) - (v).

In 1915, 774 males were listed as working in non-agricultural occupations.<sup>59</sup> These occupations could be categorized as professional, management/responsibility, employed white and blue collar, self-employed white and blue collar, and graziers.

<sup>59</sup> Extracted, *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1915.



**Graph 3**  
**Analysis of 774 Listed Non-Agricultural Male Occupations in the Sherwood Shire, 1915.**



Does not include those without an occupation.

Source: *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1915. See Appendices A(iii) – A(v).

Employed blue collar workers represented the majority of occupations, and included tradesmen, upholsterers, iron moulders, warehousemen, lithographers and mono-type operators. Another significant occupational category, the employed white collar workers, comprised clerks, servicemen, teachers, draughtsmen and drapers. Most employed blue and white collar workers appeared orientated towards employment in the city. Managers and professionals were also among the urban employed.<sup>60</sup>

The Sherwood Shire attracted several entrepreneurs, managers and professionals. Robert Disher Neilson, merchant and auctioneer of Elizabeth Street, the City, established his residence on the bank of the Brisbane River adjacent to the Ipswich-Brisbane railway. By 1904, in addition to his business interests he was an acting magistrate. Due to Neilson's influence, the government established a railway siding close to his home for his own use. James Bennett, manager of the Union Bank settled at Chelmer, while on the hill of Corinda, Alan Spencer, an inspector with the Queensland National Bank, resided at 'The Towers'. John Cannan, Assistant Manager of the Royal Bank, and Sydney Larard, secretary to the Brisbane Chamber of Commerce, who both moved to Chelmer during the early 1890s, still resided in the local area in the early 1900s.<sup>61</sup>

Commercial and industrial entrepreneurs with residences at Chelmer, included Gilbert Primrose who founded the Helidon Spa Water Company, and Joseph Sutton, whose

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1877, p.29; *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1900, 1915; *QPP*, vol. 1, 1911-2, p.680; Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.29; *Queensland Post Office Directories, 1891-1895*.

shipbuilding establishment on the Brisbane River near the city centre, was one of the few heavy industries of the 1890s.<sup>62</sup> At Graceville during the early 1890s, newspaper proprietor and former cabinet minister, Charles Buzzacott, resided at the two storeyed 'Verney House' with its view of the Brisbane River. From 1895 to 1901, A.H. Chambers, manager of the Union Bank occupied this home, changing its name to 'Rakeevan House'. In the early 1890s, William Morecambe, who owned a city stationery business, settled at Oxley. Members of the legal profession, including Charles Stumm and Chief Justice, Sir Pope Cooper, also resided in the shire.<sup>63</sup> (Map 14, p.82, for location of several affluent residents)

Thomas Hall, domiciled at 'Lynne-Grove House', Corinda, from 1888 until the early 1920s, typified the successful self-employed long-term local resident with business interests in the inner city. Formerly a Sydney businessman, his interests focused on insurance and accountancy. In 1888, he established the Hall Mercantile Agency in Sydney and Melbourne, and in a brief departure from custom, located the head office in Brisbane. Remaining in Brisbane after selling his interests in 1894, Hall assumed a principal role in the Hall-Gibbs Mercantile Agency. Later, he founded the Institute of Accountancy, and in 1906 was appointed to the Legislative Council.<sup>64</sup>

Several affluent residents chose the area for their retirement. John Watts, former cabinet minister and member of the Legislative Assembly for Darling Downs electorates during the 1860s, resided briefly at Ardoyne House, Corinda, in 1906.<sup>65</sup> Henry Coxen, a former grazier with interests in the western part of the Darling Downs, settled at 'The Fort' on Oxley heights in 1880, commencing a thirty five year association with the local

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<sup>62</sup> Mrs. C. Bode, *Chelmer through the years*. Typescript, John Oxley Library, 1973, p.4.

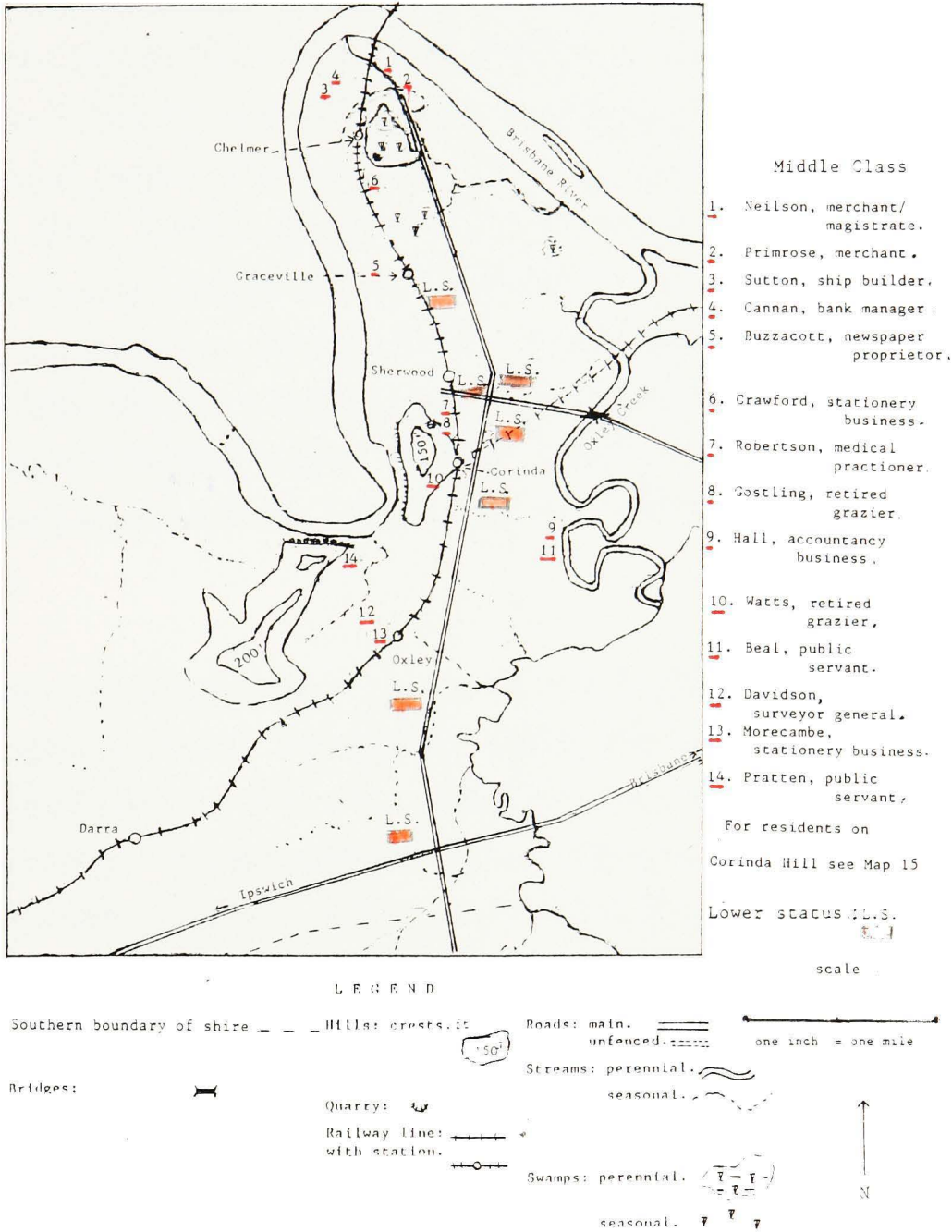
<sup>63</sup> *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1894, 1900, 1915.

<sup>64</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1912, p.405; D.B. Waterson, *A Biographical Register of the Queensland Parliament, 1860-1929*. (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972), p.77.

<sup>65</sup> *Queenslander*, 23 March 1933, p.33.



Map 14  
MIDDLE CLASS RESIDENTS AND LOWER STATUS  
RESIDENTIAL AREAS, OXLEY TO CHELMER,  
1890 - 1915.



Source: Queensland Electoral Rolls, 1894-1915; physical features, map, Ipswich one mile series, 1950.

area.<sup>66</sup> From 1906, Fanshawe Gostling 'one of the scions of Brisbane's bourgeoisie',<sup>67</sup> who married into Sir Thomas McIllwraith's family, resided at Sherwood.

Residence in the Chelmer to Oxley area also attracted government employees. By 1915, these constituted 9.9% of male voters, with 4.0% as supervisors or clerks in the State public service, and 5.1% in various departments of the Queensland railways as supervisors, clerks, tradesmen, railway station officials and labourers. The Commonwealth Government employed the remainder.<sup>68</sup> State Government employees with responsible positions mostly resided on the Corinda-Oxley hillside or elevated land near Oxley Creek. William Davidson first settled locally in 1876. By 1890, after thirty years public service, he had risen to surveyor-general with an annual salary of £750, and continued to reside in Oxley; one of his residences being the prestigious 'Cleveden House'. Frank Pratten, domiciled at 'Eddiston', Oxley, in 1905, had risen to Deputy-Registrar General after twenty five years service, receiving a salary of £350 per annum.<sup>69</sup> In 1909, James Mitchell also of Oxley, on serving a similar period, drew £550 per annum, having been Registrar of Titles since 1904. (Map 14, p.82)

In 1909, John Beal, Corinda resident since the early 1900s, was appointed Accountant, Lands Department at £450 per annum. Alan Spowers, resident on Corinda Hill since the 1880s rose to Surveyor-General in 1907, after twenty five years service; his salary amounting to £700 per annum. Spowers' neighbours, railway employees, Alexander Raff, District Engineer from 1889 to the early 1900s, and Thomas Pratten, secretary to the Commissioner for Railways, both received £600 per annum.<sup>70</sup> When comparing the income of long serving, high ranking government employees, with the approximate cost of their homes, £650 in 1900, it is evident that they were financially capable of residing in the

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<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*, 19 May 1932, p.35.

<sup>67</sup> D.B. Waterson, 'Thomas McIllwraith', in *Queensland Political Portraits, 1859-1952*, D.J. Murphy and R.B. Joyce, eds. (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1978), p.132 and end note 39.

<sup>68</sup> Extracted from *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1915.

<sup>69</sup> 'The Blue Books', *VPLAQ*, 1890, vol.2, p.164, *QPP*, vol.1, 1911-12, p.692.

<sup>70</sup> 'The Blue Books', *QPP*, 1911-12, vol.1, pp.636-725.



prestigious neighbourhoods of the shire. Moreover, because of its affluent residents, Corinda Hill, the former location of prominent agriculturalists, still continued as an influential neighbourhood. (Map 15, p.85)

The wages of public service and railway clerks domiciled nearby, varied according to length of service, ranging from £100 to £200 per annum. Railway maintenance employees, gangers and lengthsmen, living in less prestigious neighbourhoods, were paid at the rate of 6/- to 8/- per day.<sup>71</sup> Station masters, because of their occupation usually resided in government owned houses close to the railway station. One long serving station master, George Jones, had supervised local railway stations since the early 1890s. In 1910, when at Sherwood, his income had reached £168 per annum.<sup>72</sup>

Many first generation descendants of the original settlers resorted to a suburban lifestyle, residing on subdivided land, eschewing a limited farming income for white collar careers. William Berry, a commission agent, built his home on portion of the former family holding at Sherwood. Oliver Radcliffe, an inspector of schools, moved from the family farm on the eastern bank of Oxley Creek to reside in Graceville. Another example of an upward occupational path, concerned the Trotter family. Immigrant, George Trotter senior, worked a farm at Corinda during the 1870s. His son, George junior, opened a store at Sherwood in 1892, while another descendant, Manor Charles Trotter, also residing at Sherwood, became Deputy Town Clerk of Brisbane.<sup>73</sup>

For some, residence in the shire was not associated with the romantic elements of the suburban ideal or occupations orientated towards the city centre. It resulted from employment at local business enterprises established between 1896 and 1916. Because these enterprises were part of Brisbane's industrial expansion, they should be considered as contributing to the urban influence. Enterprises at Oxley included a bacon factory

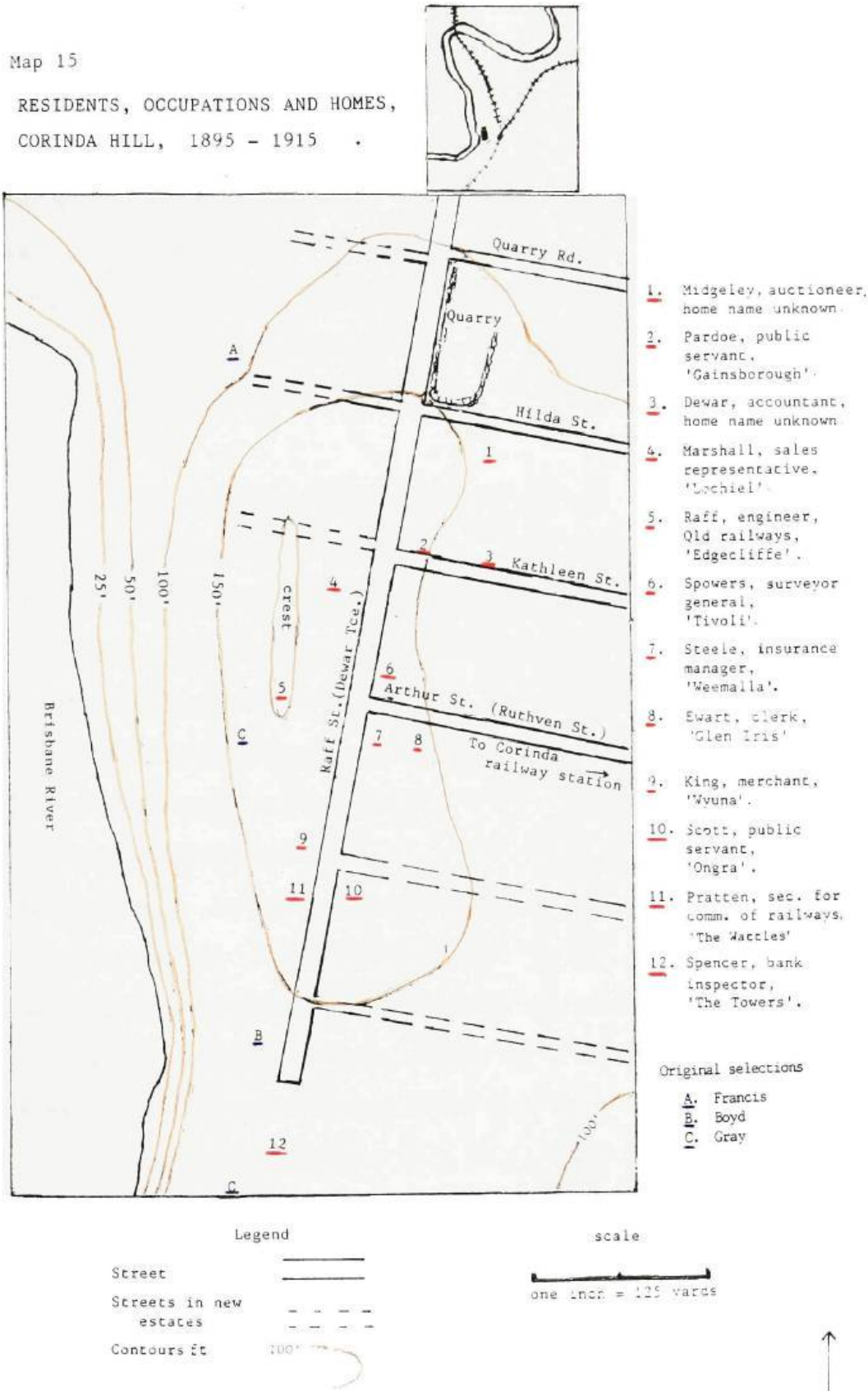
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<sup>71</sup> Railway employees, *QGG*, vol.95, no.78, 27 Sept.1910, pp.824-25.

<sup>72</sup> *ibid.*, p.820.

<sup>73</sup> D. Collyer and P.Byrnes, eds., *Sherwood State School Centenary Souvenir History, 1867-1967*. (The Publications Committee, Sherwood State School and District celebrations, 1967), pp. 8,9.

Map 15  
RESIDENTS, OCCUPATIONS AND HOMES,  
CORINDA HILL, 1895 - 1915 .



- 1. Midgeley, auctioneer, home name unknown.
- 2. Pardoe, public servant, 'Gainsborough'.
- 3. Dewar, accountant, home name unknown.
- 4. Marshall, sales representative, 'Lochiel'.
- 5. Raff, engineer, Old railways, 'Edgecliffe'.
- 6. Spowers, surveyor general, 'Tivoli'.
- 7. Steele, insurance manager, 'Weemalla'.
- 8. Ewart, clerk, 'Glen Iris'.
- 9. King, merchant, 'Wyuna'.
- 10. Scott, public servant, 'Ongra'.
- 11. Pratten, sec. for comm. of railways, 'The Wattles'.
- 12. Spencer, bank inspector, 'The Towers'.

Original selections  
A. Francis  
B. Boyd  
C. Gray

Source; Occupants, occupations and house names, Queensland Electoral Rolls, Oxier Electorate, 1894-1915; physical features, map, Ipswich one mile series, 1950.



established in the mid-1890s, which carried the Foggitt Jones name by the early 1900s.<sup>74</sup> Another industry, Brittain's Brickworks was established in 1899.<sup>75</sup> By 1912, the Lahey family, well-known in the timber industry in south-east Queensland, had constructed a sawmill at Corinda. From 1916, the suburb of Darra expanded as the result of employment opportunities provided by the Queensland Lime and Cement Company. With the exception of the cement company, local industries were small family concerns. Situated away from the populated areas of the shire, they provided employment for the bacon-curer, brickmaker and wood-machinist. The management and employees of Foggitt Jones, Brittain's and Lahey's, generally resided east of the railway line between Oxley and Sherwood.<sup>76</sup>

By 1920, the bacon factory and brickworks at Oxley, because of their convenient position and length of establishment, had provided long term employment, becoming an integral part of the lifestyle of this suburb. Under Foggitt Jones, the bacon factory located near Oxley Creek, just beyond the south-east corner of the shire, engineered a resurgence in the use of local waterways as a means of transport. The dredging of Oxley Creek by the government allowed small craft to carry factory production downstream to Brisbane, until the government levied industrial traffic using the creek. Prior to the Great War, Foggitt Jones employed approximately seventy workers.<sup>77</sup> A recurring pattern was associated with employment at the bacon factory. Its work force included more than one member of the several families living in the vicinity. Sons followed fathers as employees. At the age of twelve, a younger son of the Price family received pre-employment training, as he regularly assisted his father to drive a herd of pigs from the holding yard at Oxley railway station, to the factory two miles distant. The drive occurred before daybreak, and with the factory gates often locked, it necessitated the young lad to enter the manager's house and remove from the trousers hanging on the bedroom door, the keys to the main gate. After efficiently

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<sup>74</sup> *Pugh's Almanacs*, 1896, p.118b.

<sup>75</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, pp. 51-53.

<sup>76</sup> *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, pp.84-86; *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1915.

<sup>77</sup> Photographs of employees, Foggitt Jones, Oxley, 1912, John Oxley Library.

serving this form of apprenticeship, paid employment resulted.<sup>78</sup>

In 1899, William Brittain transferred his brickworks from Booval, an Ipswich suburb, to take advantage of the clay ground to the south-west of Oxley railway station. The brickworks expanded to include pipe manufacture providing local employment for almost eighty years.<sup>79</sup> A close employer-employee relationship existed at Brittain's even when the firm became a limited company in 1915, with William Brittain as governing director. Brittain performed this role in every sense, continuing his established custom of arriving at the factory every work day at 6.30 am to supervise the 6.45 start of the works.<sup>80</sup>

The brickworks and bacon factory contributed to the attitude adopted by Oxley residents. Oxley's growth as a small independent business and residential area since the 1860s, had initially benefited from the Ipswich Road rather than from the railway constructed in the mid-1870s, which led to the formation of suburbs a mile and half to the north at Sherwood and Corinda. Oxley's semi-isolation from these suburbs added to its independence. Although Oxley eventually benefited from the railway, its independent spirit continued, strengthened by the small local industries such as the bacon factory and the brickworks which provided employment for Oxley residents. Still, this spirit of independence did not produce unstable influences within this suburb, or prevent Oxley residents from participating in matters concerning the development of the Sherwood Shire.

On the south-west corner of the shire, the State mental hospital at Woogaroo provided residential accommodation for its employees. In 1915, four doctors, twenty five female nurses and twenty three male warders and attendants were listed as resident.<sup>81</sup> This government institution established in the mid-1860s, remained isolated from most of the shire. (Map 4, Chapter One, p.27) Unless the employees resident at the mental hospital were ratepayers in the shire, they were not eligible to vote at Sherwood Shire Council

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<sup>78</sup> Lona Grantham, oral recollections of her father and grandfather's employment, 1905-1940.

<sup>79</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, pp.51-53.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> Extracted from *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1915.



22



Workers— Foggitt Jones Bacon Factory,  
Oxley, 1912.  
(John Oxley Library)

23



Lahey's Sawmill, c.1915.

(John Oxley Library)

elections until 1921; therefore council activities created little interest. Due to the isolation, the focus of these hospital employees would have been towards the nearby Goodna township outside the shire boundary, reducing the likelihood of their contributing to either the development or the outlook of the Sherwood Shire.

As the number of urban employed increased within the suburbanized portion of the shire, three main status groups emerged, with status generally related to the occupation and income of male residents. The highest status group comprised executive businessmen, professionals, graziers, those financially comfortable in retirement, and high ranking public service and railway department officials. Probably several of these would have considered themselves members of the upper class, a view no doubt supported by aspiring local residents of lower status. Although residents such as Henry Coxen, Alan Spowers and Chief Justice Sir Pope Cooper, would have ranked as upper class, the majority of higher status residents in the Sherwood Shire should be categorized as middle class. This includes public servants earning £500 to £600 per annum, who probably considered themselves upper middle class. Categorizing most higher status residents as middle class, has also been influenced by circumstances referred to earlier in this chapter, in that Brisbane society was less affluent compared to that of Sydney and Melbourne.

The working class, the lowest status in the shire, comprised the blue collar skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled worker. Another lower status group consisted of white collar workers: clerks, commission agents, school teachers and small businessmen, whose occupations could be categorized as lower than that of the middle class. In some cases their income did not match that of the skilled workers. Nonetheless, this group like their counterparts in other Brisbane suburbs, considered themselves especially capable of rising in the social order, so that they endeavoured to emulate the local middle class.<sup>82</sup>

The local middle class, a minority in the Sherwood Shire, represented only 12% of the 774 males in non-agricultural occupations listed in the 1915 Queensland Electoral Roll.<sup>83</sup> Due to their occupation and lengthy residence, the middle class became influential, and as

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<sup>82</sup> *ibid*; Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, pp. 62,83,135; local oral recollections.

<sup>83</sup> Extracted from *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1915.



later chapters of this thesis reveal, figured prominently in local government and other social organizations. As part of their influence, the middle class continued to preserve the conservative outlook within the shire population.

The females of the Sherwood Shire, limited in their choice of occupation, showed little inclination to depart from established custom. The majority of females performed household duties allied to the status of their husbands or fathers, while the rest engaged in occupations appropriate to their sex. These occupations included nursing, teaching, dressmaking and office work, the latter probably associated with urban employment.<sup>84</sup>

**Table 3**  
**Occupations of Females in the Sherwood Shire, 1915.**

Locality	Home Duties	Office Work	Tailoring dress-making	Nurse	Teacher	Servant	Other*	Total
# Chelmer	123	10	5	1	8	7	7	161
# Graceville	96	1	1	-	2	5	3	108
# Sherwood	182	6	4	4	1	10	4	211
# Corinda	191	7	4	1	8	5	3	219
# Oxley	127	3	7	1	7	2	6	153
# Darra	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	45
+ Wolston	15	1	1	-	-	-	1	18
+ 17 Mile Rocks	23	1	-	-	-	1	-	25
Woogaroo hospital	7	-	-	25	-	-	-	32
Total	809	29	22	32	26	30	24	972

\* 'Other', includes governess, engraver, journalist, and two artists. One artist was Vida Lahey. 'Other' also includes ten females without an occupation.

# Suburban, with some agricultural holdings.

+ Mostly agricultural holdings.

Source: *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1915. See Appendices A(iii) and A(v).

<sup>84</sup> *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1915.

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Post card of painting  
'Monday Morning'  
by Vida Lahey, 1912.

(Queensland Art Gallery)



Artists like Vida Lahey, a member of the family who established the sawmill at Corinda, appeared the exception regarding the expected occupations of females in the shire. Though possessing a determined personality, Lahey refrained from exhibiting 'brave feminist attitudes', as both her art and lifestyle revealed a conservative influence.<sup>85</sup> Two of Lahey's paintings depict females engaged in traditional household chores. One painting, 'Busy Fingers', reveals a female performing a domestic duty, that of sewing, while 'Monday Morning', one of Lahey's best known works, features two women absorbed in washing the family's clothes, a chore usually carried out on the first day of the working week.<sup>86</sup> In twenty three of Lahey's paintings, garden and wildflowers are arranged in various settings within the household, indicative of another domestic duty, flower arrangement, usually the responsibility of at least one female in a middle class suburban household. Critics considered these paintings enjoyable, but artistically less adventurous than her other works, such as 'Central Station 7 am' and 'Hop Picking'.<sup>87</sup>

During the early 1900s, Lahey appeared to support the attitude of society concerning the place of women. In 1915, when residing at Corinda, she applied for a supervisory position in the Central Technical College in Brisbane, but withdrew her application on learning that a male colleague intended applying.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, as the eldest of a large family, domestic duties were thrust upon Vida Lahey at an early age. Her mother had the children and Vida brought them up. During the Great War when her brothers enlisted and were posted overseas, Lahey travelled to England to perform war work and to 'monitor their welfare'.<sup>89</sup>

The home duties of the 809 females indicated in Table 3, p.90, varied according to status. The wives of the working class attended to all household duties, including cleaning,

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<sup>85</sup> Michael Richards, Review of 'Songs of Colour', *Courier Mail*, 25 April 1989; 'Songs of Colour' exhibition, Vida Lahey's work, Queensland Art Gallery, April-May, 1989.

<sup>86</sup> *ibid*; Bettina Macaulay, *Songs of Colour: the Art of Vida Lahey*. (South Brisbane, Q.; Queensland Art Gallery, 1989), p.40.

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.*; J. Wreick, 'Arts National', A.B.C. radio programme, 13 May 1989.

<sup>88</sup> Kate Collins, 'The search for Vida Lahey', *Sunday Mail* magazine, 16 April 1989.

<sup>89</sup> J. Wreick, 'Arts National', 1989; Macaulay, *Songs of Colour*, p.16.

washing and shopping, while those in agricultural households performed extra duties according to the type of farming enterprise. The employment of thirty servants in Chelmer, Graceville, Sherwood, Corinda and Oxley, indicates that some females who listed household or domestic duties as an occupation, enjoyed supervisory status in their large suburban homes. They escaped the drudgery which those of lower status endured. This supervisory status reflected the attitude of middle and upper class housewives in other parts of Australia, who considered the home, 'a pure citadel against an impure world', with the guardian of that citadel, the wife and mother. The capacity of a wife and mother 'to draw the affections, made her central to the virtuous action of the family', rendering her unavailable for paid work outside the home.<sup>90</sup>

Further to her unavailability for paid work outside the home, the 'wife and mother' experienced other restrictions. For a wife to dare discuss with her husband family planning methods, was considered in the shire, 'a revolutionary and bizarre infringement against conformity'.<sup>91</sup> Still, in 1894, Nell Midgeley of Sherwood, suggested to her husband, Alfred Midgeley, former independent parliamentarian, that as she had borne five children in eight years, he should adopt some means of restraint, otherwise his dream of owning a home on Corinda Hill would be unrealised. Midgeley agreed to the adoption of the Roman method of withdrawal as a precautionary measure against conception. Subsequently by 1899, with no further additions to the family, the Midgeleys had moved to a large home on Corinda Hill. But Nell Midgeley's upbringing, influenced by various superstitions prevailed over her practical attitude, as she considered the use of this method caused her husband's wasting illness in later years.<sup>92</sup>

Notwithstanding, most housewives in the suburbanized portion of the Sherwood Shire, and indeed the agricultural districts as well, remain subservient to their husbands, and often

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<sup>90</sup> Marian Aveling, 'Death and the family in nineteenth-century West Australia', in *Families in Colonial Australia*. P. Grimshaw, C. McConville, E. McEwen, eds. (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1985), p. 39.

<sup>91</sup> Zoe O'Leary, *The Little Byron, the Life of Alfred Midgeley, 1849-1930*. (Chippendale, N.S.W.: Alternative Publishing Co-operative, 1982), p. 133.

<sup>92</sup> *ibid.*, p.134.



referred to them in conversation as 'mister'.<sup>93</sup> The housewives role reinforced the tradition that a 'woman's place was in the home'. This tradition, firmly entrenched in middle class Britain by the mid-nineteenth century, was emulated by the British upper working class.<sup>94</sup> With 85.2% of females in the suburban area of the shire in unpaid occupations associated with the home,<sup>95</sup> it was apparent that both male and female residents with middle class, white collar and working class backgrounds, approved and supported this tradition. As guardians of the home against the influences of an impure world, the housewives from Chelmer to Darra reinforced their husband's decision to reside in a tranquil and seemingly undefiled suburban environment.

In addition, to working class acceptance of the tradition that a woman's place was in the home, the middle class influence on lower classes emerged in another form within the suburban area of the Sherwood Shire. This concerned the naming of one's home. During the 1890s and early 1900s, with streets unmarked, male middle class residents recorded in post office directories and electoral rolls, the names of their homes as part of their address.<sup>96</sup> Even as some streets began to be signposted, this practice continued, with a British influence noticeable in the names of the homes listed in the 1915 electoral roll, indicating to some extent the effect of this influence on the culture of the Sherwood Shire. English origins were evident in 'Hurlton', 'Penzance', 'King's Lynn', and 'Grosvenor'; Scottish influences in 'Doonholm', 'Heatherbank' and 'Dunalister'; with Irish ancestry obvious in 'Connemara' and 'Erin Villa'.<sup>97</sup> By 1915, with houses lacking identification numbers, those of higher status were not the only residents with urban occupations recording the names of their homes as part of their address. This appeared preferable to the less prestigious entry of 'fourth on the right from Mitchell's store', Sherwood.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> Richard Evans, 'Women's History, the Limits of Reclamation', (review essay), *Social History*, 5, 1981, p.280.

<sup>95</sup> Extracted from *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1915.

<sup>96</sup> Extracted from the *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1894; *Queensland Post Office Directories*, 1891-2.

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1915.

Table 4

The relationship between male occupations and the inclusion of home names as part of one's address, Chelmer to Darra, 1915.

Suburbs	Occupational Categories			
	+ Middle Class	* White Collar	# Blue Collar	Total
Chelmer	9 (21)	15 (57)	2 (27)	26 (105)
Graceville	3 (9)	3 (36)	2 (46)	8 ( 91)
Sherwood	4 (15)	7 (58)	4 (111)	15 (184)
Corinda	13 (35)	8 (63)	5 (69)	26 (167)
Oxley	3 (9)	2 (22)	4 (91)	9 (122)
Darra	-	0 (4)	1 (44)	1 (48)
Total	32 (89)	35 (240)	18 (388)	85 (717)

Figures in brackets indicate the number of occupations of that particular category listed in the electoral roll.

+ Middle class: professional, managerial, high public servants, retired graziers.

\* White collar: clerks, commission agents, teachers, draughtsmen and small business.

# Blue collar: skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, including those self-employed; this category also known as working class.

Source: *Queensland Electoral Rolls, Oxley Electorate*, 1915.

Table 4 indicates that almost 36% of those belonging to the middle class in the suburbs from Chelmer to Oxley still listed the names of their homes as part of their address. In Chelmer, 26.3% of white collar occupations listed the names of their homes, more so than any other local suburb, partly revealing how this category appeared to associate themselves with the middle class.<sup>99</sup> In Corinda and Sherwood, although there is a tendency for both white and blue collar occupations to follow the lead of the middle class and list the names of their homes, white collar occupations appeared less responsive than their Chelmer counterparts.<sup>1</sup> The presence of a larger proportion of blue collar workers residing in Corinda and Sherwood than in Chelmer, may have contributed to those with white collar occupations exhibiting less enthusiasm. The emerging suburb of Darra provides interest.

<sup>99</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*



Of the 48 occupations listed, 44 were working class and four white collar. None were middle class. Darra had yet to be recognized as a 'good address', and had not gained a large proportion of influential higher status residents. Consequently, only one resident, a self-employed blue collar worker listed the name of his home.<sup>2</sup>

In demonstrating the influence of the middle class, this seemingly inconsequential trait of including the name of a home as part of one's address, allows a partial insight into the composition of the suburbs within the Sherwood Shire area. A closer analysis of the composition of these suburbs reveals how the middle class influence motivated a spirit of conformity, characteristic of suburban living.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, such an analysis discloses how the Ipswich-Brisbane railway which contributed to the increase of suburban residents, played an important role in the continuation of the middle class influence and the subsequent spirit of conformity.

Since the mid-1880s, with the exception of Darra which failed to attract suburban residents until just prior to the Great War, the railway had constituted an unofficial boundary between the affluent and less affluent areas of the suburbs of Chelmer, Graceville, Sherwood, Corinda and Oxley. The area to the west of the railway, the domain of the shire's middle class, also contained residents with white collar occupations who aspired to this status, while several of the working class residing in this area served middle class families. Consequently, there was little likelihood of unstable influences in the neighbourhoods west of the railway. On the eastern side of the railway, twice as many people resided than on the western side. Because of the predominance of blue collar workers located east of the railway, an indication of the movement of workers to the outer suburbs, many considered this area working class.<sup>4</sup> But, as an occupational and residential analysis of male residents reveals, this was not entirely a true assessment.

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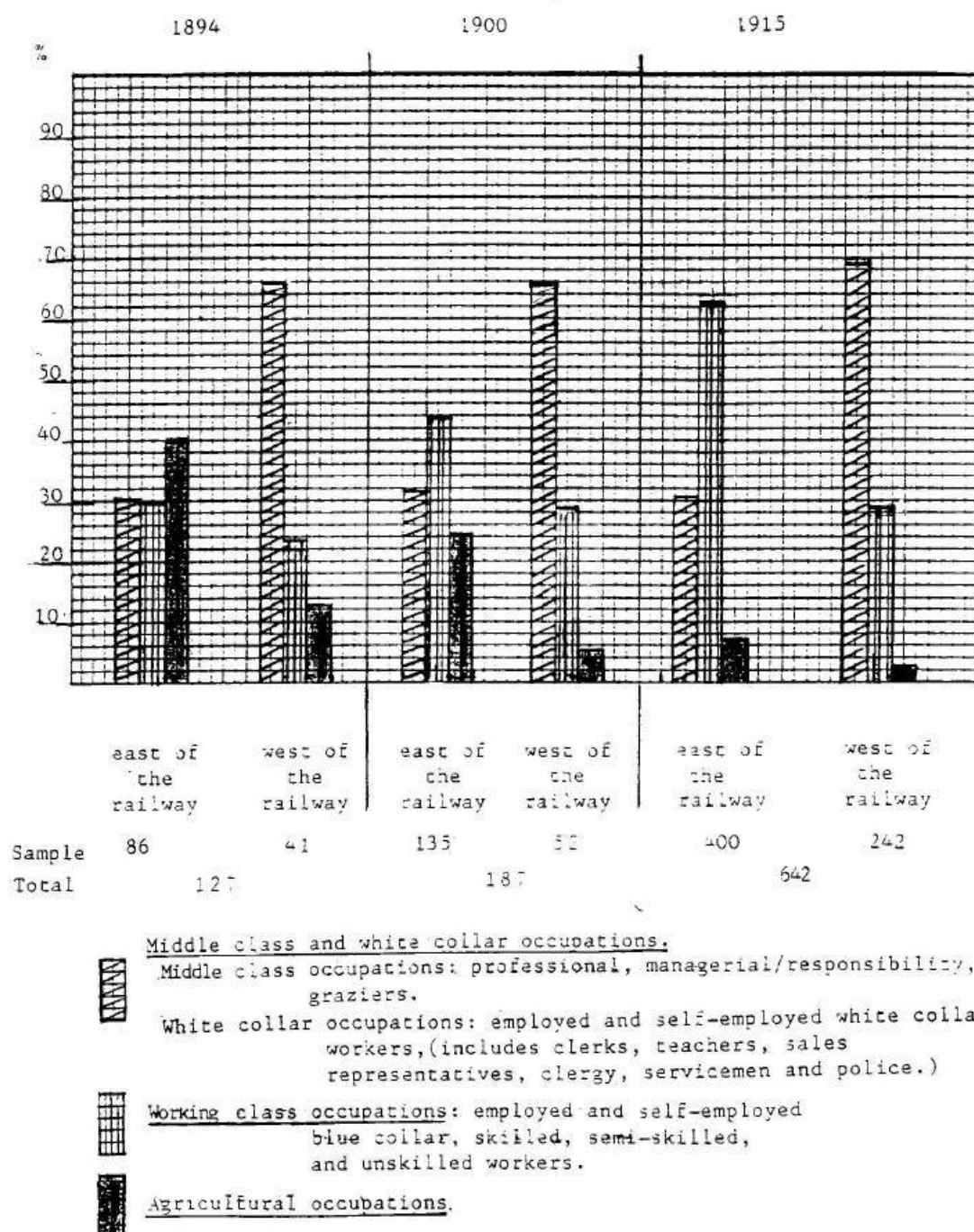
<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Scott Donaldson, *The Suburban Myth*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p.110.

<sup>4</sup> This view is still held today, especially by those on lower incomes.

Graph 4

Location of Male Occupations, Chelmer to Oxley, in relation to the Ipswich-Brisbane Railway Line, 1894 - 1915.



1. Because of the aspirations of white collar groups towards the middle class, white collar occupations have been combined with middle class occupations.
2. The 1915 percentage figure is the most reliable as enrolment was compulsory, so that a greater number of occupations were listed. Sixty two percent of the occupations analysed were located to the east of the railway. The analysis does not include those without employment or those whose address could not be defined.

Source: Male occupations listed in *Queensland Electoral Rolls*, 1894, 1900, 1915 and *Queensland Post Office Directories*, 1894-5, 1900. See Appendices A(i) - A(v).



Graph 4 indicates that in 1894 there was little difference in the percentage of working class occupations, and the combined middle class and white collar occupations located to the east of the railway. In 1900 the working class percentage had risen to 43.7%. By 1915, possibly assisted by the reduction in rail fares, the working class presence increased to 62.7% with the middle class and white collar occupations representing 30.5%. The middle class comprised 7.5% and white collar occupations 23%.<sup>5</sup> However, the residential pattern reveals that while the percentage of working class increased, the influence of this class was limited. Within the majority of lower status residential areas east of the railway, residents with white collar occupations lived among the working class; in some instances, middle class families resided nearby. Furthermore, most lower status neighbourhoods in the eastern area were located less than a quarter of a mile from the railway, with the western side of the railway dominated by the middle class.<sup>6</sup> (Map 14, p.82) This resembled the pattern in nineteenth century English industrial cities where the lower classes resided in the vicinity of the upper middle class, but often separated by railway lines or canals. As this residential pattern still allowed easy access to the city, the English upper middle class remained unmoved and aloof, secure in the possession of property,<sup>7</sup> an attitude adopted by the middle class in the suburbanized portion of the Sherwood Shire. Still, despite their aloof attitude, the minority middle class of the shire, because of their status and proximity, unconsciously influenced residents of lower status located to the east of the railway.

Although the large blue collar presence may have inhibited white collar workers in Sherwood and Corinda from including the name of their home as part of their address, it did not extend to influencing social change. The stable outlook of those in middle class occupations would have had a greater influence on the status conscious white collar worker, especially clerks employed by the government, whose status would improve during their years of service. Consequently, the combined presence of the middle class and those with white collar occupations, would have acted as a steadying influence on the working class, if necessary.

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<sup>5</sup> Extracted from the *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1900.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Rex, 'Sociology, zone of transition', in Pahl, ed., *Readings in Urban Sociology*, pp.211-213.

Even so, little evidence exists that the working class harboured resurgent attitudes. They appeared to reflect the view that the opportunity for social mobility reduced the 'severity of opposition between classes', thereby reinforcing the system of stratification.<sup>8</sup> Like other working class in the Brisbane area, they were inclined to accept the existing social order rather than attempt to overthrow it.<sup>9</sup> Influenced by those of higher status, local workers endeavoured to emulate them. Indeed, they generally subscribed to the attitude of some British working class who had ideas of social mobility. By settling in suburbs containing middle class elements, they hoped to improve themselves socially.<sup>10</sup> The skilled worker, representing 16.6% of the suburban population to the east of the railway,<sup>11</sup> had the potential to follow the example of the local self-employed blue collar worker, and establish his own business in the expanding suburbanized portion of the shire.

Other elements associated with working class employment which contributed to the stability of the area east of the railway, concerned the effect local family industrial enterprises had on their employees. These small firms, with management close to a work force drawn from local families, often included several members of the one family. Because management and employees resided near one another, it resulted in a tighter employer-employee relationship. This resembled the relationship which some concerned middle class had with their employees during the Industrial Revolution, reminiscent of the association between the landed gentry of Britain and their tenants. Approval of, and participation in this relationship by those employed in the shire's small industrial enterprises, also demonstrated working class support for the retention of old ideals and traditional values.

The tolerance of middle class and lower status neighbourhoods towards one another, contrasts the American theory of urban expansion referred to by Ronald Lawson earlier in this chapter: the forced removal of affluent residents by the encroachment of residents of lower status. As a result of the tolerance exhibited by the suburban residents of the

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<sup>8</sup> Rollo Stavenhagen, *Social Classes in Agrarian Societies*. Translated by Judy Adler Hellman. (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1975), p.34.

<sup>9</sup> Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, pp. 87,89.

<sup>10</sup> Thorne, *Suburbia*, p.48.

<sup>11</sup> Extracted from the *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1915.



Sherwood Shire, lower status residents domiciled to the east of the Ipswich-Brisbane railway, influenced by the few middle class residents in their neighbourhoods, and the stronger middle class presence west of the railway, contributed to the survival of the conservative outlook within the suburbanized portion of the shire.

Between 1891 and 1920, as the suburban areas expanded, the majority of the first generation of suburban residents within the Sherwood Shire depended upon Brisbane city for employment. This city, the seat of government and an influential port in south-east Queensland, relied on primary production for both its export trade and its food processing industries. Due to a regular train service and the eventual reduction in rail fares, the suburbs from Chelmer to Darra, attracted a cross-section of the Brisbane city population. This included the middle class, those in white collar occupations, with many working class emulating their counterparts in Britain by moving to the suburbs.

Several elements relating to suburban expansion in the shire were imported, so that the culture of other countries contributed to the residential pattern which emerged. Residential expansion reflected the traditional ideals of suburbia, subscribed to in earlier centuries by European countries: open space and a specific type of housing. The factors governing the residential pattern which evolved from land subdivision, included gradual rate of occupancy, slow population growth, the occupation of male residents, and the areas in which they chose to reside. The naming of one's home, and the occupations and attitudes of female residents, again illustrated the effect of British influences.

These factors led to the emergence of a conservative middle class, whose male membership generally relied on employment in commerce and government in the city. Although a minority in the local area, this class influenced the attitude of lower status residents domiciled in their vicinity, ensuring that a conservative outlook would be maintained. Besides, another British influence, the close relationship between employer and employee in small family industries, contributed to a continuation of the conservative outlook. During the suburbanization of the Sherwood Shire, other forms of imported culture sustained this outlook. These were inherent in several social activities which attracted support from a cross section of local residents.

### CHAPTER 3 COMMUNITY AND CONSERVATISM: SHIRE COUNCIL AND SCHOOL OF ARTS

Two social activities in which residents of the Sherwood Shire participated, involved membership of the shire council and support for the closely associated school of arts. Imported from Britain, these institutions were established in the Brisbane area and throughout Queensland, and when introduced to the Sherwood Shire, eventually produced a community awareness. As in Britain, the middle class controlled both the shire council and the school of arts, thus contributing to the continuation of a stable society.

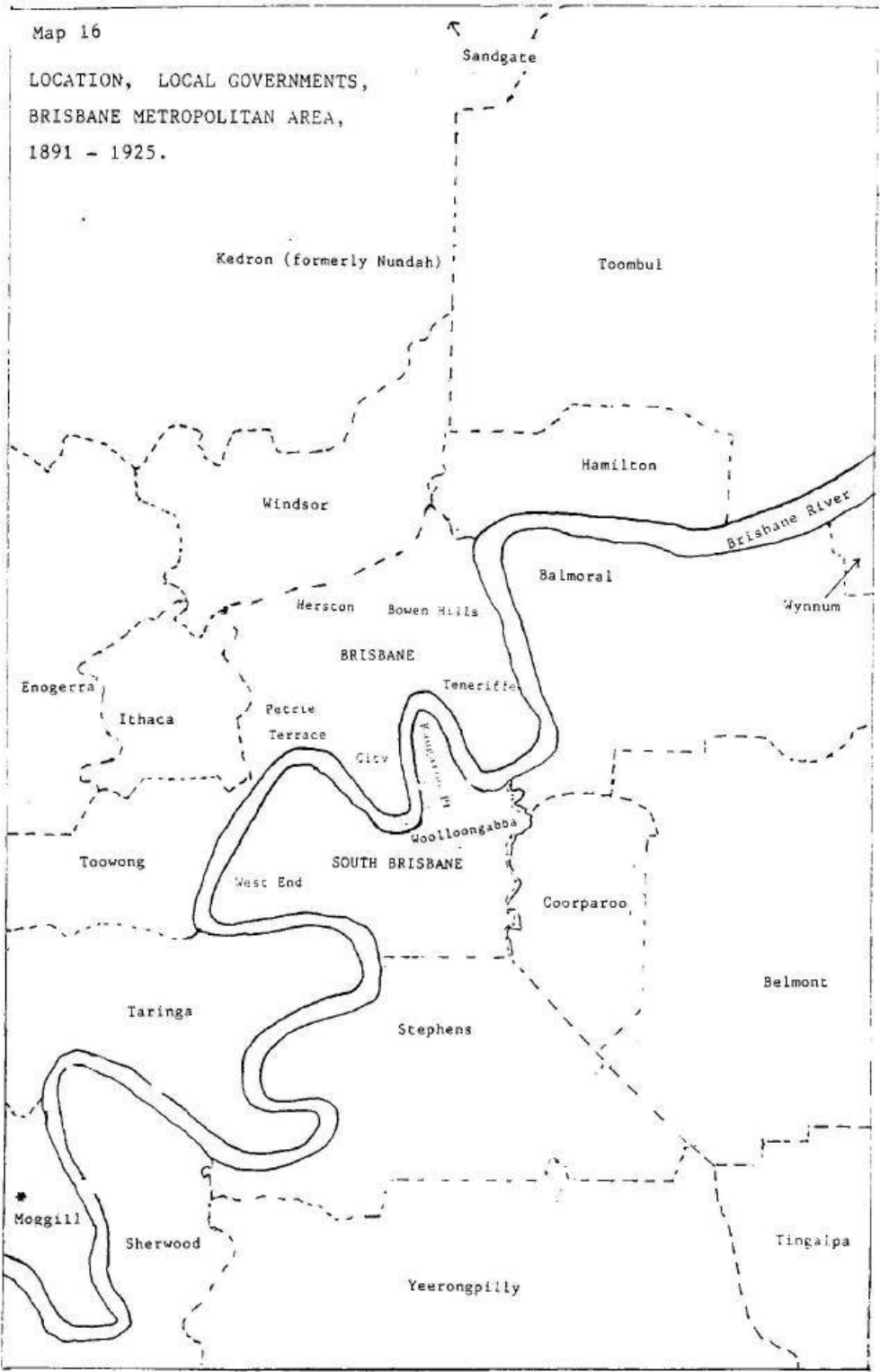
From 1891 to 1920, almost sixty residents served as elected members of the Sherwood Shire Council. As volunteers, they influenced and gradually improved the lifestyle of a population, which had grown from 2331 in 1891 to 5000 by 1920. This demanding, and at times unrewarding social activity, involved the complex administration of a partly suburbanized shire, challenging the resourcefulness of the few willing to serve the local area.

The local government system which influenced the administration of the Sherwood Shire, had its origins in the Queensland Government's experimental Local Government Act of 1878 and the Divisional Board Act of 1879. These Acts followed similar legislation passed in other Australian colonies, based on Britain's Municipal Corporation Act of 1835, which was enacted partly because of the effect of the Industrial Revolution. In Britain, the dramatic increase in urbanization produced overcrowding and pollution, necessitating a new and responsible approach to the administration of local areas.<sup>1</sup> The Divisional Board Act of 1879 established Yeerongpilly Division, with the future Sherwood Shire designated number two subdivision. The efficient operation of divisional boards motivated further legislation. The Divisional Board Act of 1887, officially allowed boards to govern by committee, while the Health Act of 1884 vested local governments with responsibility for health. These Acts brought the administration of divisions closer to that of shires.

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<sup>1</sup> S. and B. Webb, *The Development of English Local Government*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 69,73.





Source: Greenwood and Lavery,  
Brisbane 1859-1959, p.364.

not to scale



\* formerly Indooroopilly.

The Governor-in-Council was not obliged to acknowledge requests from local ratepayers for the creation of a new divisional board, however, such requests were usually granted if persistently pursued.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, in 1891, following the presentation of two petitions by the ratepayers of Yeerongpilly's number two subdivision, the Queensland Government formed a new division, which it named Sherwood.<sup>3</sup> The Sherwood Division benefited from the findings of the Royal Commission on Local Government in 1896, which recommended that divisional boards be elevated to shire councils, a recommendation ratified by section five of the Local Authorities Act of 1902.<sup>4</sup> By 1905, the Brisbane metropolitan area comprised two cities, Brisbane and South Brisbane; five towns, Sandgate, Toowong, Ithaca, Windsor and Hamilton; and thirteen shires including Sherwood.<sup>5</sup> (Map 16, p.102)

Although legislation increased local government responsibility, it ensured that this was never a threat to the Queensland Government. Australian sociologist, Ronald Wild, maintained that local government was inherently conservative, with administration limited to conformity with the rules, rendering it impossible to produce social change.<sup>6</sup> Sherwood's by-laws and amendments had to receive government approval. The auditor-general scrutinized the shire's finances, and the council's financial statements were regularly published in the *Queensland Government Gazette*.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> G. Greenwood and J. Laverty, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, G. Greenwood, ed. (Brisbane: Oswald L. Ziegler for the Council of the City of Brisbane, 1959), p.253.

<sup>3</sup> Ratepayers petitions, no. 2 subdivision, Yeerongpilly Division, 145 petitioners, 31 Jan. 1887, 170 petitioners, 21 Nov. 1890, with additional 25 petitioners, 6 Jan. 1891, in Colonial/Home Secretary correspondence, Yeerongpilly Division, 1887-1891, QSA, COL/093; Proclamation, Division of Sherwood, *QGG*, vol.52, no.25, 24 Jan. 1891, p.268.

<sup>4</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government, *VPLAQ*, 1896, vol.2, p.549; Local Authorities Act, 1902, (J.L. Woolcock, ed).

<sup>5</sup> Greenwood and Laverty, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, p.254.

<sup>6</sup> R.A. Wild, *Australian Community Studies and Beyond*. (George Allen and Unwin, 1981), p.196.

<sup>7</sup> By-laws, amendments to by-laws, and financial statements, *QGG*, 1891-1920; Auditor-general reports, *VPLAQ*, 1891-1901, and *QPP*, 1902-1904.



In addition to the conservatism inherent in local government legislation, local influences modified the operation of the Sherwood Shire Council. These influences included the composition of the council's membership, and the problems associated with change from a rural to a suburban environment. Just as problematical was the shire council's forced involvement with other metropolitan local authorities. Still, the endeavours of the shire council gradually developed a community spirit, especially within the suburbanized area of the shire.

To facilitate its operation, Sherwood was divided into three areas, known by 1902 as divisions. Number one division comprised the southern portion of Oxley, all of Darra, as well as the farming districts of Seventeen Mile Rocks and Wolston. Number two division included Corinda, the northern and eastern portions of Oxley, and the southern part of Sherwood. Number three division consisted of the northern end of Sherwood, and all of Graceville and Chelmer. Numbers two and three divisions contained most of the suburbanized portion of the shire.<sup>8</sup> (Map 17, p.105) On Oxley Road, Corinda, an unpretentious edifice served as the shire's administration building.<sup>9</sup> (Photo, p.106)

Each division was represented by three elected members or councillors, who usually served three years. These members, like those who elected them, were ratepayers. One member retired annually but was eligible for re-election. The representatives of the three divisions formed the nine member shire council. They elected the chairman from amongst their number. In 1920, the Local Authorities Acts Amendment Act instituted triennial elections. The whole council retired, with the chairman, and the three councillors in each of the three divisions, elected by the adult residents of the shire rather than by the ratepayers.<sup>10</sup>

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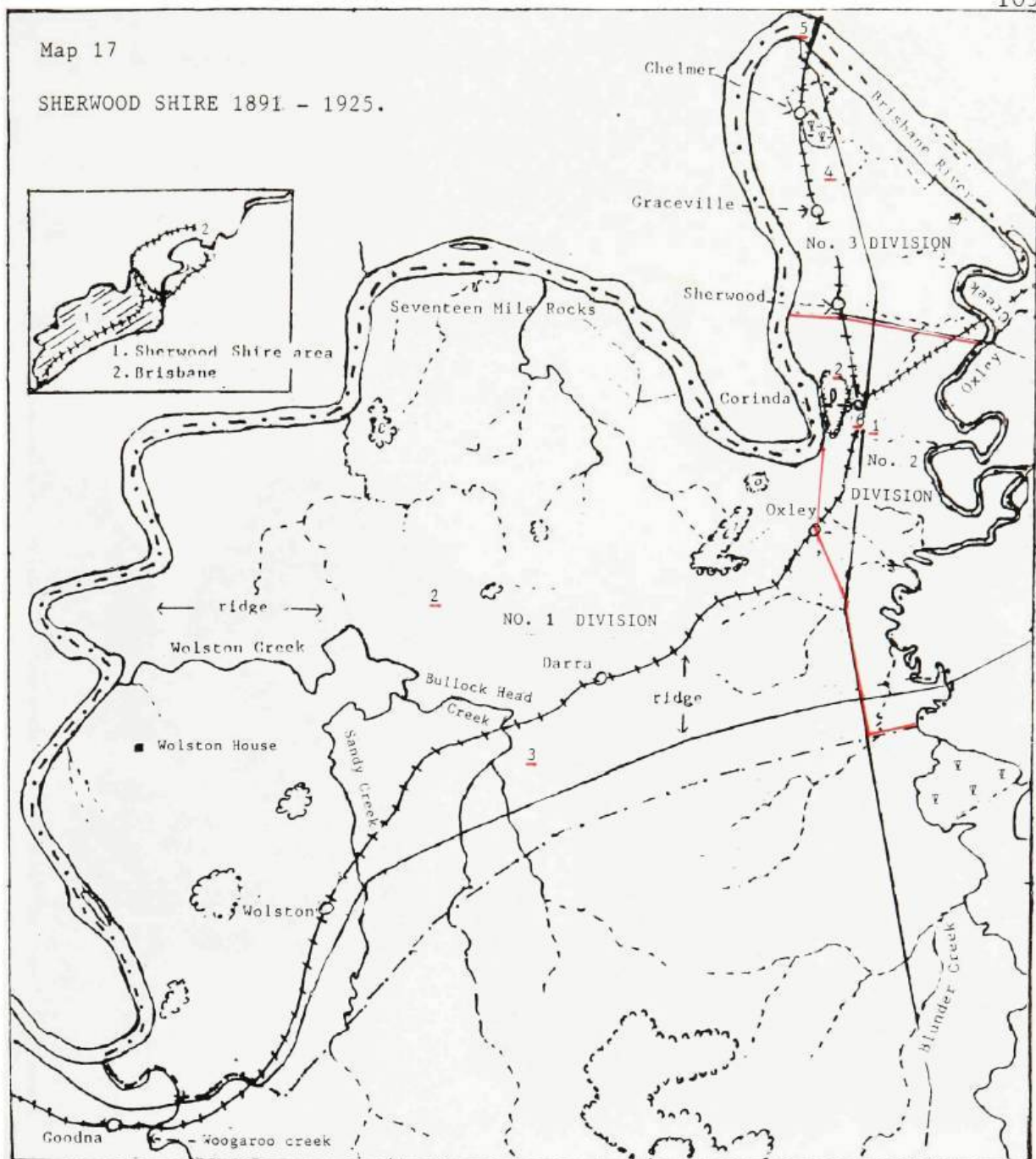
<sup>8</sup> Proclamation, Division of Sherwood, *QGG*, vol.52, no.25, 24 Jan. 1891, p.268.

<sup>9</sup> Sherwood financial statements, *QGG*, vol.54, no.2, 5 Sept. 1891, pp.58-59, vol.55, no.29, 23 Jan. 1892, p.355.

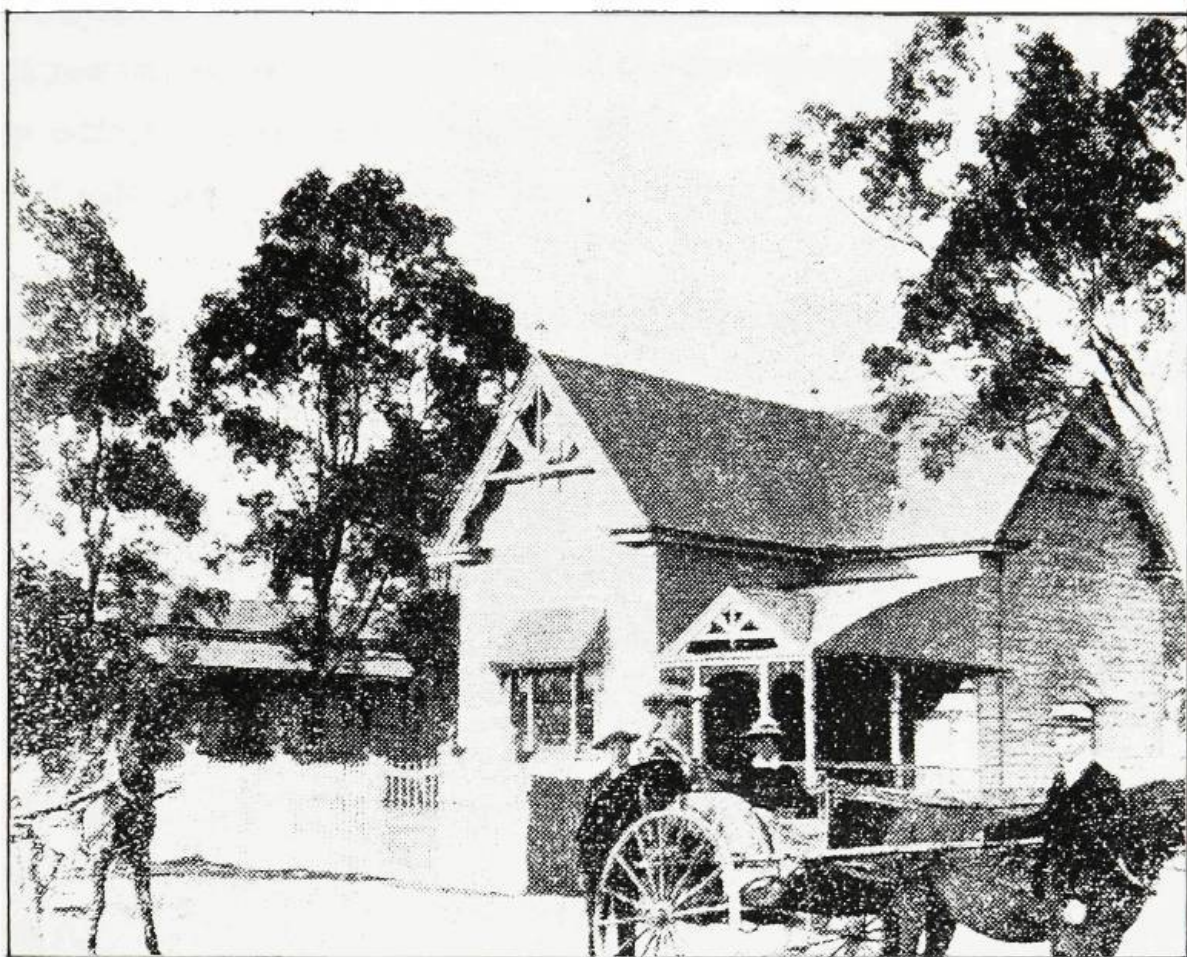
<sup>10</sup> Divisional Board Act, 1879, sections 8 and 47, *QGG*, vol.25, no.57, 2 Oct. 1879, pp. 666,678; Local Authorities Acts Amendment Act, 1920, sections 7,11, Queensland Statutes, vol. xi, pp.9573-9593.

Map 17

SHERWOOD SHIRE 1891 - 1925.







Sherwood Shire Council Chambers, Corinda, 1906.  
(John Oxley Library)

Those nominating for election to the first Sherwood Divisional Board reflected the change from a rural to a suburban area. Of the thirteen male nominees,\* only six were agriculturalists.<sup>11</sup> Females were not permitted to nominate until 1921. The ratepayers association candidates secured the nine places, resulting in a mixed representation of agriculturalists and residents with urban occupations. The chairman, John Moffatt, with William Lyon, William Orr and Alexander Brodie, depended on the land for a living. Other elected members included surveyor, Thomas O'Connor; distillery operator, Samuel Knight; former cabinet minister and newspaper proprietor, Charles Buzzacott; and commission agents, Rhodes Whitaker and William Berry.<sup>12</sup>

Between 1891 and 1920, membership of the shire council continued to include a cross-section of resident ratepayers, with those in urban related occupations eventually forming the majority. Of the fifteen who served as shire chairman, ten could be categorized either as middle or upper class.# While the interest of some councillors appeared short-lived and concerned only for the welfare of their own area, others like Matthew Goggs Junior with twenty years service, Thomas Hall, fourteen years, Arthur Baynes and Thomas O'Connor each ten years, provided long term support, working for the benefit of the whole shire.

In conformity with local government procedure, the operation of the Sherwood Shire Council was based upon the decisions of its various committees. British local government analyst, J.H. Warren, maintained that the scrutiny of council business by several committees had been instituted to reduce incorrect decision making.<sup>13</sup> Between 1891 and 1920, Sherwood's three improvement or works committees, focused on the construction and maintenance of roads, bridges and drains. Each division had its own improvement

\* See Appendix B (ii) for nominations, occupations and results of voting.

# See Appendix B (i) for list of shire chairmen and occupations.

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<sup>11</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 11 March, 1891, p.5; *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1894; *Queensland Post Office Directory*, 1892-1894.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> J.H. Warren, *The English Local Government System*, 6th edition. (London:George Allen and Unwin, 1963), p.117.



committee with the three councillors representing the relevant division constituting the membership.<sup>14</sup> From 1891, the finance committee, and from 1920, the lighting committee, consisted of one member from each division, with the legislation and health committee comprising the whole council. Therefore, a councillor could be a member of at least two committees. During the early 1900s, Sherwood's Chairman served as an ex-officio member of all committees, chairing every committee except that of finance.<sup>15</sup>

Prior to their election, several Sherwood Shire Councillors acquired committee skills. Charles Lyon and Thomas Johnston of Sherwood and Benjamin Sinnamon of Seventeen Mile Rocks, were products of church and school committees; membership of the latter, subject to approval by the Queensland Government.<sup>16</sup> Thomas Hall, in addition to membership of committees associated with his occupation as an accountant, served on local church and sporting committees.<sup>17</sup> For other councillors, committees of progress associations established at Chelmer, Sherwood, Corinda, Oxley and Darra, provided experience. By the 1920s, dedicated members of these committees, such as Alfred Duxbury of Oxley, R.G. Oates of Darra, Edwin Jerrems of Chelmer and William Hammond of Graceville, were

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<sup>14</sup> By-law 35, Sherwood, *QGG*, vol.54, no.116, 19 Dec.1891, p.1322; list of committees and membership, Sherwood Shire Council, in *Sherwood Shire Agricultural, Horticultural and Industrial Society, Souvenir Catalogue*, first annual show, September 1921, p.49.

<sup>15</sup> Composition of Sherwood Shire Council in *Sherwood Shire Agricultural and Industrial Society Catalogue*, p.49; Greenwood and Laverty, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, p.319 and footnote 73.

<sup>16</sup> Approved school committee members, *QGG*, vol.102, no.137, 8 June 1914, p.1509; D. Collyer and P. Byrnes, eds., *Sherwood State School Centenary Souvenir History, 1867-1967*. (Sherwood, Q.: Publications Committee, Sherwood State School and District Centenary Celebrations, 1967), pp. 9,11; H.V. Sinnamon, *A Gentleman Farmer's Paradise. (Seventeen Mile Rocks, Q.: H. Sinnamon, 1980)*, p.41; list of Sherwood Presbyterian committee members, in *Sherwood Shire Shire Show Catalogue*, p.67.

<sup>17</sup> D.B. Waterson, *A Biographical Register of the Queensland Parliament, 1860-1929*. (Canberra: A.N.U. Press, 1972), p.77.

elected to the shire council.<sup>18</sup>

While previous experience on committees assisted council membership, local government analyst E.P. Hennock, maintained that the nature of a person's occupation was important to his role as a council committee member.<sup>19</sup> Local government committee work was time consuming and required co-ordination and co-operation. Often 'feelings of sociability' inhibited decision making, therefore the autocratic manager would probably prove an unsuitable member.<sup>20</sup> Hennock considered that the most suitable persons to serve as councillors were the small merchants or retail businessmen.<sup>21</sup> Wild, in his work, *Bradstowe*, indicated that local government membership represented a narrow range of interests, with the majority of the council comprising middle-aged businessmen.<sup>22</sup> Although Hennock and Wild referred to municipal government, the urban and agricultural occupations of fifty residents who served as members of the Sherwood Shire Council, partly supports their views.

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<sup>18</sup> C.V. Abrahams, ed., *Sherwood District Centenary Celebrations, 1867-1967*. (Sherwood, Q.: Sherwood District Weekly), p.67; *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, pp. 69,70; *Brisbane Centenary Official Historical Souvenir*. (Brisbane: Centenary Committee, 1924), pp. 181-182.

<sup>19</sup> E.P. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*. (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), pp. 337-338.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> R.A. Wild, *Bradstowe - A study of status, class and power in a small Australian town*. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1974), pp. 14,15,18.



**Graph 5**  
**Occupations of fifty residents who served as Sherwood Shire councillors or Divisional Board members, 1891-1925.**

Occupations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Percent	22	20	18	16	8	6	6	4

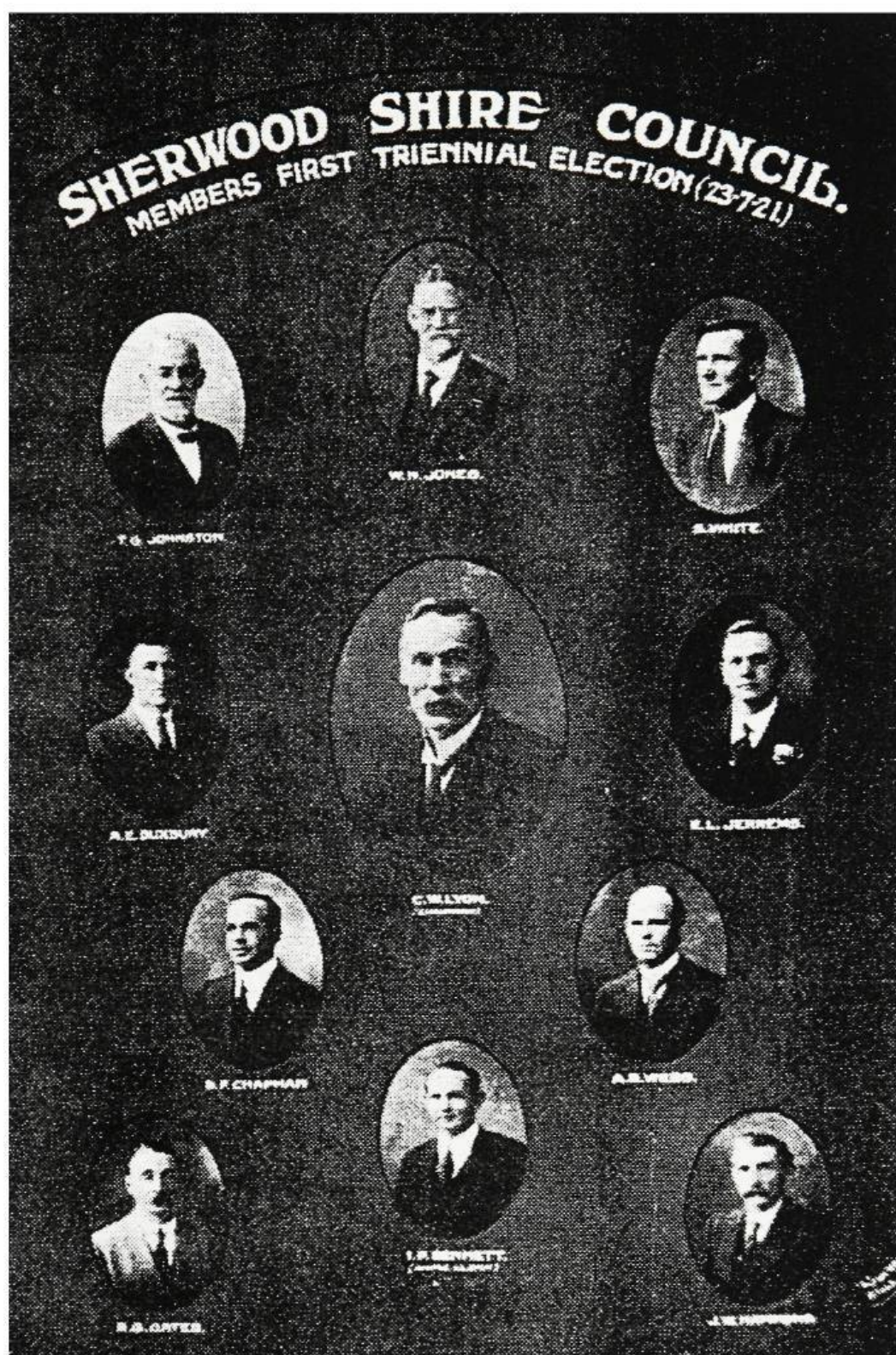
Occupations

1. Agriculturalists.
2. Professional: accountants, solicitors, barrister, doctor, engineer, surveyor.
3. Small business: real estate agent, retailer, sawmill owner, distillery operator, master painter.
4. White collar occupations: clerks, commission agents, commercial travellers, journalist, mostly from Chelmer and Corinda, adjacent to middle class neighbourhoods.
5. Retired: graziers, minister.
6. Autocratic businessmen: owners and managers of large city firms.
7. Unskilled workers: labourer, meatworker, preserver.
8. Skilled, semi-skilled: tradesmen, carpenter, engine driver.

The ages of the above ranged from forty to sixty years.  
Source: Membership, Divisional Boards, 1891-1901 in *Pugh's Almanacs*; *Brisbane Courier* reports of council meetings, 1891-1925; *Brisbane Centenary Official History*, 1924, pp.181-2; *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.49; Occupations in *Queensland Electoral Rolls, Oxley Electorate*, 1894, 1900, 1915, 1921.

The above graph indicates that the majority of those who served as councillors, either had agricultural or professional occupations, or were small businessmen. Autocratic businessmen were in a minority. Even so, eighty percent of councillors with agricultural backgrounds had served prior to 1905, before the implementation of services typical of suburban areas. Only three served after 1905, and they represented the rural number one division. When discussing matters of a progressive nature, conservative agriculturalists and retired graziers tended to prolong decision making. Given the problems which regularly affected the shire council's operation after 1900, councillors with professional occupations in accountancy and law, the majority of whom resided in Corinda and Chelmer, probably adopted a cautious approach to problem solving. Those with white collar occupations who resided close by would have displayed a similar attitude. Enough small businessmen were represented to provide co-ordination and co-operation, and to infuse committees with those 'feelings of sociability', which also hindered or prolonged decision making. The composition of the Sherwood Shire Council membership, while containing some elements generally associated with government by committee, again substantiates a view referred to earlier, that local government members were more likely to be guardians of the status quo,





(D. Collyer and P. Byrnes, Sherwood State School Centenary, p.19)



rather than 'agents of social change'.<sup>23</sup>

Because of the financial difficulties involved in implementing services for a suburban as well as a rural environment, membership of the shire council became a demanding social activity. The Sherwood Shire Council derived its income from rates and government endowments. Council expenditure, though regularly channelled towards the provision and maintenance of local services, often subsidized local authorities whose services benefited the metropolitan area as a whole. Furthermore, by the early 1900s, the need to acquire government loans to introduce new services to the local area, plus the necessity to reduce both arrears in rates and bank overdrafts, complicated the shire council's financial operation.

In 1891, with general rating a major source of income, the first finance committee of the Sherwood Shire, planned its income and expenditure programme for a twenty two square mile area, containing 1679 rated properties and 620 ratepayers.<sup>24</sup> The rating ratio in the pound recommended by the finance committee was derived from the relationship between the total amount the council expected from its ratepayers, and the estimated capital value of all unimproved privately owned land. With this land valued by local committees or shire clerks, it has been acknowledged that in order to avoid appeals, local government deliberately undervalued land as much as fifty percent. Local governments then struck higher rates, as appeals against rating were not allowed.<sup>25</sup> In the Sherwood Shire, the estimated capital value of land £296,603 in 1891 had fallen to £189,190 by 1895.<sup>26</sup> The economic depression during 1893 partly contributed to the fall. After the economy recovered, metropolitan local governments, including Sherwood and the neighbouring shires of Taringa and Stephens, continued to devalue land until the early 1900s. Between 1905 and 1910, land values commenced to rise and climb steadily.<sup>27</sup> (Graph 6, p.113)

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<sup>23</sup> Wild, *Australian Community Studies*, p.197.

<sup>24</sup> Statistics of Queensland, *VPLAQ*, 1892, vol.3, pp.322-4.

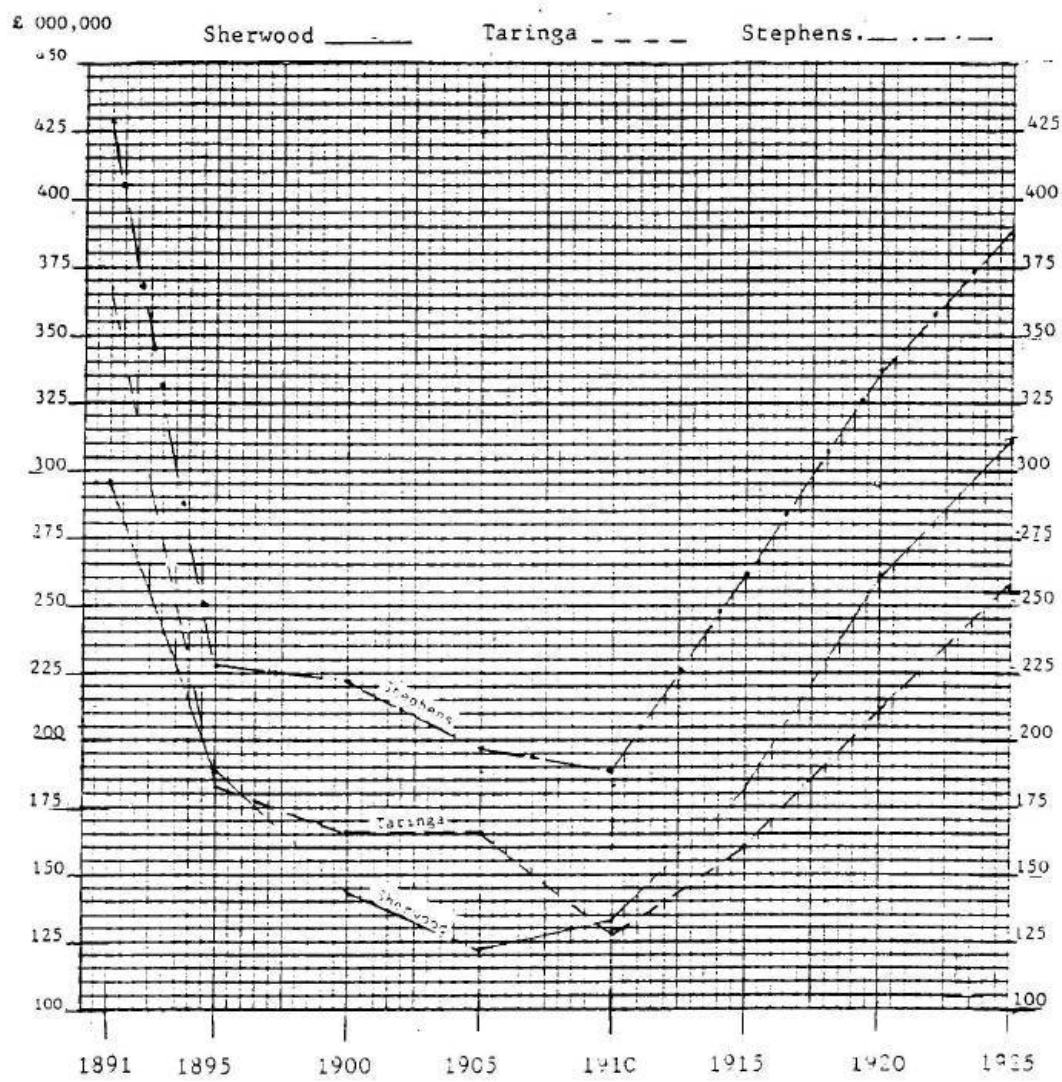
<sup>25</sup> Greenwood and Laverty, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, p.354.

<sup>26</sup> Statistics of Queensland, *VPLAQ*, 1892, vol.3, pp.322-6, 1896, vol.3, p.623.

<sup>27</sup> Statistics of Queensland, *VPLAQ*, 1891-1901, *QPP*, 1902-1926; Greenwood and Laverty, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, Appendix 5, p.384.

Graph 6

Unimproved Value of Rateable Land in adjoining partly suburbanized shires of Sherwood, Taringa and Stephens, 1891-1925.

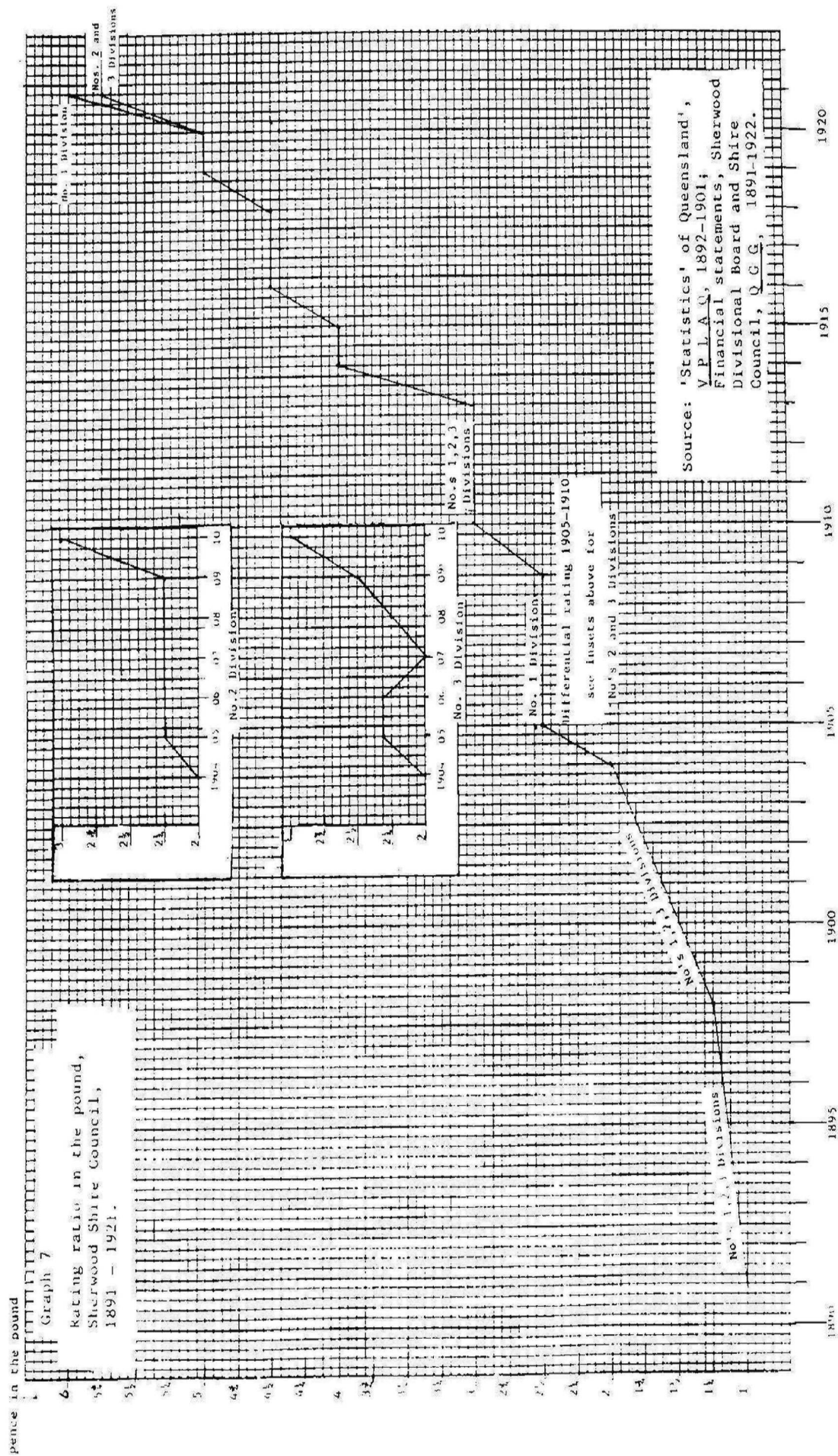


Source: Greenwood and Lavery in *Brisbane 1859-1959*, p.384, produced a table for twenty one local governments, indicating five yearly land valuations between 1882 and 1926. As the specific sources were not revealed, the figures for the three shires in the above graph, based on the Greenwood and Lavery table were substantiated in the following:-

Statistics of Queensland, *VPLAQ*, 1891-1901, and *QPP*, 1902-1926.



Graph 7  
Rating Ratio in the Pound, Sherwood Shire Council, 1891-1921.



When introducing general rating, the Sherwood Shire Council initially favoured striking the same ratio in the pound for the whole shire, rather than impose differential rating on each of the three divisions. In 1891, properties were rated at one penny in the pound.<sup>28</sup> Graph 7, page 114 indicates how rating rises were gradual until the 1900s. Steeper rises then occurred, with the council changing to differential rating on two occasions, 1905-1909, and 1921. Because of the complex nature of differential rating between 1905 and 1909, only the rating for number one division is indicated on the main graph. Additional graphs detail the individual ratios for numbers two and three divisions.

Graph 7 reveals that differential rating favoured number two and number three divisions. It probably resulted from variations in land values. In 1920, the estimated unimproved value of land in number two division was £82,743, and number three division, £114,068. The land in these residential areas was valued higher than that of rural number one division, estimated at £61,221.<sup>29</sup> In order to increase income, the council probably resorted to the established custom of striking higher rates on lower land values.

The steep rises in the rating ratio after 1904, reflect the Queensland Government's withdrawal of endowments. The amount of endowment payable to all local governments was determined annually by parliament. This was distributed according to the proportion the general rates raised collectively by each local authority, 'bore with the total amount of general rates raised collectively by them' during the previous year.<sup>30</sup> From the mid-1890s, due to the effect of the economic depression, the government reduced its allocation to local governments. Sherwood's first endowment was £1203/19/4 in 1892, with the government's reduction in endowment revealed by the lesser amount of £497/13/6 received in 1900.<sup>31</sup> Between 1892 and 1903, Sherwood received almost £4,777 in endowments.<sup>32</sup> Despite the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Local Government in 1896 that endowments

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<sup>28</sup> 'Statistics of Queensland', *VPLAQ*, 1892, vol.3, p.326.

<sup>29</sup> Sherwood financial statement, *QGG*, vol.117, no.44, 6 Aug. 1921, p.469.

<sup>30</sup> Greenwood and Lavery, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, p.242.

<sup>31</sup> Sherwood financial statement, *QGG*, vol.57, no.7, 10 Sept. 1892, pp.95-96, vol.74, no.46, 18 August 1900, p.408.

<sup>32</sup> Auditor-general reports, *VPLAQ*, 1892-1901, *QPP*, 1902-1904.



continue, the government failed to heed this advice, as endowments to all metropolitan local authorities ceased by 1904. In 1906, a suggestion by the Sherwood Shire Council to consider the re-introduction of endowments, drew a negative response from the Home Secretary's department.<sup>33</sup>

The reduction and ultimate withdrawal of endowments coincided with a substantial increase in the population of the shire, which had risen from 1191 in 1895 to 4050 by 1910.<sup>34</sup> The Queensland Government compensated for the withdrawal of endowments by allowing the ratio in the pound, for both general and special rates, to be raised. By 1920, the maximum general rating ratio had risen to sixpence in the pound, and several councils including Sherwood, eventually increased general rating to this ratio. Special rating financed sanitary services or other work specifically benefiting the local area. It often assisted the repayment of loans associated with this work. From 1910, with the maximum ratio of threepence in the pound removed, there was no limit to special rating.<sup>35</sup> But, due to the need to increase general rating to improve existing services, Sherwood was reluctant to take advantage of the new special rating powers, and when applying special rating, limited the ratio in the pound to twopence.

Because of the problems associated with rating, membership of the shire council became a less enjoyable activity. Councillors residing in the same locality as their fellow ratepayers were subjected to their opinions. This prompted comment from Corinda resident and experienced shire councillor, Thomas Hall. Addressing the Legislative Council in 1908, he remonstrated that,

Odious (had) became the position of a local government man, that there was a great reluctance on the part of ratepayers to accept the position. ... Taxation for all ... works outside roadmaking (was) now forced upon the local authorities.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government, 1896, *VPLAQ*, vol.2, p.555; correspondence, Home Office Secretary to Sherwood Shire Council, 28 Dec. 1906, QSA, COL/070.

<sup>34</sup> Statistics of Queensland, *VPLAQ*, 1896, vol.3, p.619, *QPP*, 1911-12, vol.1, p.1293.

<sup>35</sup> Greenwood and Laverty, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, p.357, footnote 47.

<sup>36</sup> *QPD*, 1908, vol.102, p.9.

Hall's protest failed to change the process by which the Sherwood Shire Council had financed its services for several years. During 1900, Sherwood received an income of £860/4/10 from general rates, rating ratio being one and a half pence in the pound. In 1905, when land values were at their lowest, the shire council received £1193/9/1 from general rates, assisted by the rise in the rating ratio and the introduction of differential rating.<sup>37</sup> As a result of further increases in both land values and rating, income from general rates rose from £1720/17/4 in 1910 to £4929/14/6 in 1920.<sup>38</sup> While the latter contributed to a total income of £7540/5/5 in 1920, it failed to solve the council's financial problems, as the shire's general expenditure of £8700/0/10 exceeded the total income by nearly £1400.<sup>39</sup>

During the post-endowment years, the council continued to allocate a substantial amount of its income from general rates to works and repairs, which included the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges. Costing £1040/10/2 in 1900, and representing 64% of annual expenditure, the amount allocated in 1910 had been reduced to £777/6/5, almost 33% of that year's expenditure.\* In 1921, the expenditure on works and repairs in the three divisions was £3141/4/9, however, because of the cost of numerous other services, this figure represented only 24.7% of the year's budget.<sup>40</sup>

The shire council continued its responsibility for the ferry service between Chelmer and Indooroopilly. It had assumed control after the dissolution of the Indooroopilly Ferry Board in 1895, which the Queensland Government had established following the destruction of the

\* See Appendix B (iii) for expenditure percentage, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1921.

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<sup>37</sup> Sherwood financial statement, *QGG*, vol.74, no.46, 18 August 1900, p.408, vol.76, no.6, 4 May 1901, p.27, vol.86, no.48, 24 Feb. 1906, p.872.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, vol.96, no.160, 24 June 1911, p.2012, vol.117, no.44, 6 Aug. 1921, p.468.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, vol.117, no.44, 6 Aug. 1921, p.468. (An overdraft of £2432/6/-, is not included in the total income of £7540/5/5, in 1920.)

<sup>40</sup> Sherwood financial statement, *QGG*, vol.74, no.46, 18 August 1900, p.408, vol.76, no.6, 4 May 1901, p.27, vol.96, no.160, 24 June 1911, p.2012, vol.119, no.2, 1 July 1922, p.36.



railway bridge during the 1893 flood.<sup>41</sup> The ferry operated under contract, with the cost contributed to by both the Sherwood and Taringa Shire Councils. Operational and maintenance costs, £111/5/7 in 1912, rose to £170/19/1 by 1920, with Sherwood then bearing the full cost of the ferry service.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to meeting local requirements, the council's income from general rating contributed to the function of various boards which served the Brisbane metropolitan area. On behalf of the shire, several councillors participated in the administration of these boards. From 1898, Sherwood paid half yearly precepts to the Victoria Bridge Board, a joint authority established by the Victoria Bridge Act of 1897.<sup>43</sup> The Act empowered the Queensland Government to pay half the cost of a new bridge across the river in the inner city, to replace the one destroyed by the 1893 flood. This joint authority, consisting of representatives from local governments in the metropolitan area, was responsible for maintaining and providing interest and redemption on the remaining costs amounting to £63,728/14/10.<sup>44</sup>

Sherwood and Stephens shared a member on the board of the joint authority, the membership including local identities Thomas Hall, Matthew Goggs junior and Charles Stumm.<sup>45</sup> Sharing a member had one advantage, as precepts were allocated in proportion to the representation on the board. By 1900, precepts amounted to £200 per annum, representing 12.75% of Sherwood's expenditure, with the allocated amount fluctuating thereafter.<sup>46</sup> The Victoria Bridge Board proved unpopular with Sherwood Shire residents as most travelled by train through Indooroopilly, or used the shire council ferry rather than

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<sup>41</sup> *QGG*, vol.58, no.59, 11 March 1893, p.721; Order-in-Council, *QGG*, vol.64, no.99, 19 Oct. 1895, p.890.

<sup>42</sup> Sherwood financial statements, *QGG*, vol.100, no.82, 5 April 1913, p.969, vol.117, no.44, 6 August 1921, p.468.

<sup>43</sup> Greenwood and Laverty, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, pp.264-5.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1905, p.484 (Stumm), 1911, p.616 (Goggs); Waterson, *Biographical Register, Queensland and Parliament, 1860-1929*, p.77, (Hall).

<sup>46</sup> Sherwood financial statements, *QGG*, 1900-1921.

Victoria Bridge.<sup>47</sup>

The bubonic plague, 1900-2, motivated the establishment of another local authority - the Metropolitan Joint Health Board for the Prevention of Epidemic Diseases. Sherwood shared one member with Ithaca, Indooroopilly, Toowong and Taringa local governments. This board was also unpopular, especially with outer suburban shires unaffected by the plague. In 1902, £18 owing to the epidemic board was paid 'under protest' by the Sherwood Shire. Henry Coxen, chairman of both the Sherwood Shire Council and the Local Authorities Conference, led further protests against payments to this board, which he considered only concerned the Brisbane and South Brisbane councils.<sup>48</sup> Even so, as sanitary arrangements had been generally administered as part of local health requirements, Sherwood Shire in compliance with the Health Act of 1900, passed by-laws stipulating the siting and erection of earth closets in the residential areas.<sup>49</sup> It later implemented a sanitary and cleansing service. In 1910, this service together with the maintenance of a sanitary disposal area, cost £527/16/1, the council levying ratepayers 26/- per annum to cover this cost.<sup>50</sup>

Another health service involving the Sherwood Shire followed the purchase of 'Wattle-Brae' by the Metropolitan Joint Hospitals Board in 1903. This building served as an infectious diseases hospital. Pressure from local governments resulted in the Brisbane General Hospital administering 'Wattle-Brae' on their behalf.<sup>51</sup> From 1907, local councils paid tariffs in accordance with the number of patients admitted. The largest amount Sherwood contributed to the Wattle-Brae scheme was £87/19/7 in 1910.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 23 June 1906, p.12.

<sup>48</sup> *QGG*, vol.73, no.106, 19 April 1900, p.1131; Greenwood and Lavery, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, p.266; report, protest, Sherwood Shire Council meeting, *Brisbane Courier*, 23 Jan. 1902, p.4; Local Authorities Conference report, *Brisbane Courier*, 12 July 1902, p.15.

<sup>49</sup> Sherwood by-law amendments, *QGG*, vol.82, no.81, 8 April 1904, p.1249.

<sup>50</sup> Sherwood financial statement, *QGG*, vol.96, no.160, 24 June 1911, p.2012.

<sup>51</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 12 July 1902, p.15; Greenwood and Lavery, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, p.421.

<sup>52</sup> Sherwood financial statement, *QGG*, vol.96, no.160, 24 June 1911, p.2012.



The pressure on the financial resources of metropolitan local governments continued. On the establishment of the Main Roads Board in 1920, shires were expected to maintain arterial roads, the cost equally divided between the shire and this board. Sherwood's payment to the Main Roads Board in 1921, totalled £334/1/2.<sup>53</sup> Still, the shire council did not seek a thirty year loan which local governments had been encouraged to acquire, in order to maintain their financial obligations to this board.<sup>54</sup>

The shire's forced membership of some metropolitan authorities aggravated local councillors and tended to reduce enthusiasm for local government membership. This led to the election of other councillors determined to introduce new services, such as parks, water reticulation and lighting. But, because of the lack of finance, these services were only implemented when the council sought government loans. General rating and special rating assisted in repaying these loans and the associated interest. From 1904, loans aided the development of a park at Graceville,<sup>55</sup> and in the 1920s allowed the purchase of future parkland in Sherwood and Corinda.<sup>56</sup>

As ships tanks and wells provided most of the domestic water supply, government loans contributed to the extension of reticulated water in the shire. In 1902, the Brisbane Water Board, a metropolitan authority consisting of government nominees, piped water to Chelmer via the Albert railway bridge.<sup>57</sup> Between 1904 and 1921, the shire council through loans, subsidized the water supply to lesser populated areas in Sherwood, Corinda, Oxley and

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<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*, vol.119, no.2, 1 July 1922, p.36; Greenwood and Lavery, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, p.278, and footnote 93.

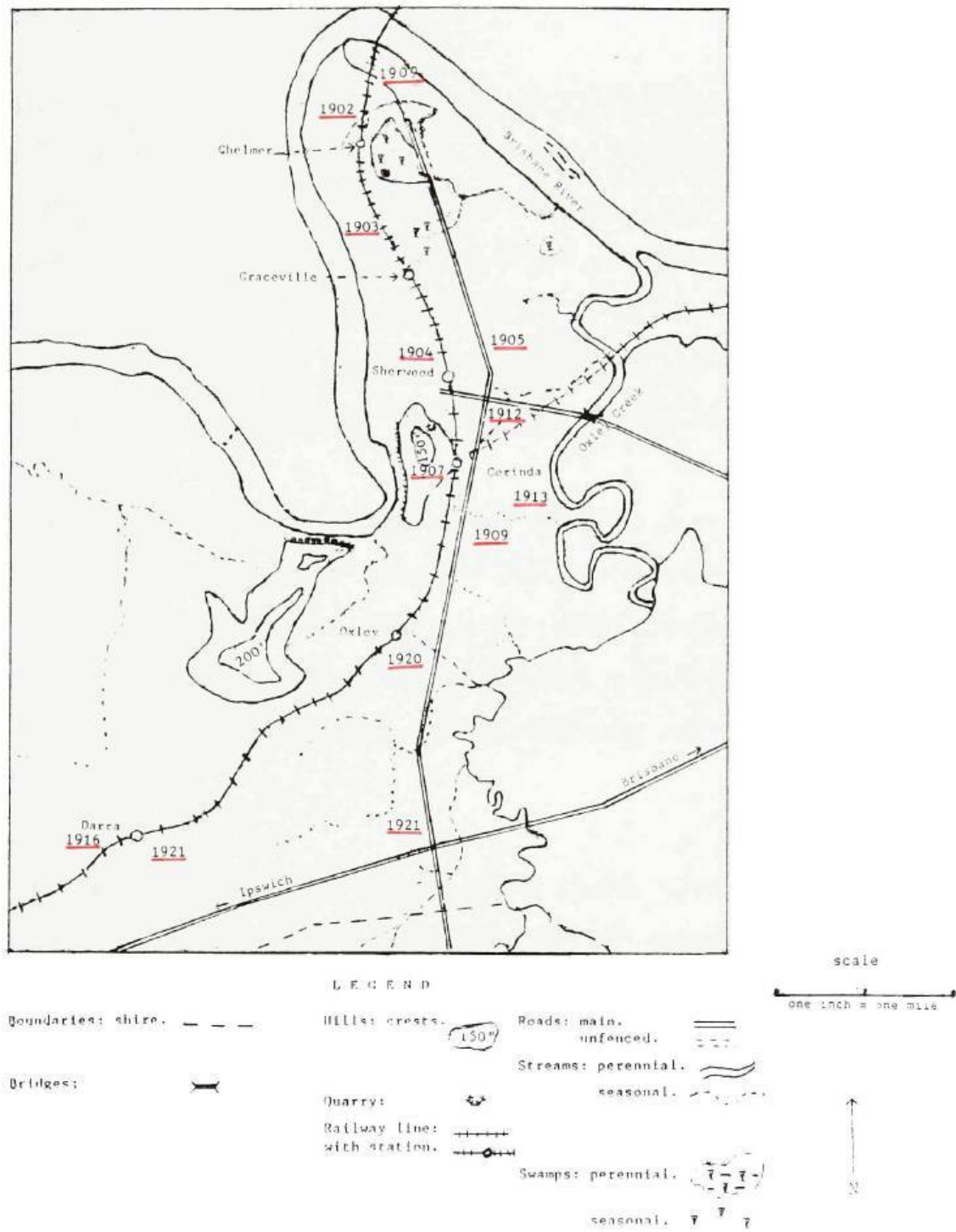
<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Application for £300 loan by Sherwood, *QGG*, vol.81, no.134, 21 Nov.1903, p.1008; *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.51.

<sup>56</sup> *QGG*, vol.120, no.135, 26 May 1923, p.1410, no.149, 9 June 1923, p.1533, vol.121, no.10, 7 July 1923, p.54.

<sup>57</sup> Brisbane Water Board report in *QPP*, 1903, vol.2, pp. 1231,1236.

Map 18  
DATES, RETICULATED WATER  
CHELMER TO DARRA  
1902-1921.





Darra, successfully petitioning the government to declare these suburbs benefited areas.<sup>58</sup> This allowed the council to impose special rating in the form of loan rates, to assist in repaying the amount borrowed from the government. In 1920, Oxley and Darra ratepayers paid twopence in the pound loan rates, which was reduced to one penny in the pound the following year.<sup>59</sup>

The Sherwood Shire Council's largest loan concerned the installation of electricity. In 1919, by State Government Order-in-Council, the shire council established the Sherwood Shire Electric Authority which operated its own account.<sup>60</sup> Financed by a government loan of £10,000 for a period of twenty one years at 5% per annum, this loan was later augmented by two further loans of £7,500 each. By the early 1920s, 1074 consumers from Oxley to Chelmer benefited from this initiative. To assist in repaying the loan, the council levied a special rating of one penny in the pound on those receiving electricity.<sup>61</sup>

Between 1900 and 1910, special rating imposed on benefited areas of the shire produced a meagre £2/10/6 in income. During the Great War, the council discontinued special rating. In 1920 and 1921, the re-introduction of special rating produced an income of £1316/3/1, £315/19/5 contributing to the repayment of loans financing the water supply to Oxley and Darra, and £1000/3/8 assisting the repayment of loans associated with the introduction of electricity to the shire.<sup>62</sup>

Increase in general rating and the limited use of special rating, failed to solve Sherwood's financial problems. Arrears in rates reduced income, motivating the council to

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<sup>58</sup> *QGG*, vol.83, no.138, 3 Dec.1904, p.1123, vol.89, no.70, 12 Oct.1907, p.955; Under-secretary/Sherwood Shire Council correspondence, 8 June 1904, QSA, COL/070; Brisbane Water Board Report in *QPP*, 1905, vol.2, pp.1055,1057; *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.49.

<sup>59</sup> *QGG*, vol.117, no.44, 6 August 1921, p.469, vol.119, no.2, 1 July 1922, p.37.

<sup>60</sup> Order-in Council, *QGG*, vol.113, no.132, 22 Sept. 1919, pp.938-959.

<sup>61</sup> Sherwood financial statement, *QGG*, vol.119, no.2, 1 July 1922, p.37; *Brisbane Centenary Official Historical Souvenir*, pp.181-2.

<sup>62</sup> Sherwood financial statements *QGG*, 1900-1919, and *QGG*, vol.117, no.44, 6 August 1921, p.468, vol.119, no.2, 1 July 1922, p.37.

recoup outstanding rates which had risen to £1097/17/1 by mid-1900.<sup>63</sup> Local residents experiencing difficulty in paying rates were well known to, and even friends of shire councillors. The problems resulting from natural disasters, like the flood of the 1893 and the drought of 1899-1902, may have temporarily prevented ratepayers from fulfilling their obligations. During 1902, the shire council recovered a small amount of arrears by selling land owned by those with outstanding rates. The land was valued at £128/17/7. Of the seven properties placed on the market, only one belonged to a local resident.<sup>64</sup> In 1904, a ten percent reduction on promptly paid rates proved effective, but the regular increase in general rating and the introduction of cleansing rates, increased arrears from £217/4/5 in 1911 to £807/0/3 by 1920.<sup>65</sup>

Bank overdrafts exacerbated the council's financial difficulties. In 1909, the overdraft owing to the Queensland National Bank amounted to £819/14/1, rising to £2432/6/- by 1920. Although reduced to £1579/12/10 in the following year, overdrafts continued to beset the financial operation of the Sherwood Shire Council.<sup>66</sup>

The situation in Sherwood reflected that of other metropolitan local governments influenced by suburban elements. While Taringa Shire wrestled with overdrafts to provide works and services during 1920, Stephens struggled to repay loans which had financed the installation of electricity.<sup>67</sup> The complexity of metropolitan local government administration and the cautious attitude of voluntary councillors, demonstrated the need for a less personal greater Brisbane authority, with the central administration removed from the local area. This was eventually established on the passing of the Brisbane City Council Act in 1924.

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<sup>63</sup> Sherwood financial statement, *QGG*, vol.74, no.46, 18 August 1900, p.408.

<sup>64</sup> *QGG*, vol.79, no.14, 19 July 1902, p.126.

<sup>65</sup> Sherwood financial statement, *QGG*, vol.98, no.92, 30 March 1912, pp.903-4, vol.117, no.44, 6 August 1921, p.468.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*, vol.95, no.85, 1 Oct. 1910, p.942, vol.117, no.44, 6 August 1921, p.468, vol.119, no.2, 1 July 1922, pp.36-37.

<sup>67</sup> Taringa financial statement, 1920, *QGG*, vol.116, no.194, 23 April 1921, p.1329; Stephens financial statement, 1920, *QGG*, vol.117, no.102, 17 Sept. 1921, p.797.



Despite the financial problems, one aspect of Sherwood's administration demonstrated that council membership could be a gratifying and worthwhile social activity. The increased role of the council in the local area cultivated a community awareness, especially in the suburbanized portion of the shire. An early indication of the council's potential to produce such an awareness, was revealed in the reaction to the 1893 flood. With the shire isolated from the rest of Brisbane and the police station at Oxley destroyed by the flood, control of the area rested upon the shire council. The *Brisbane Courier* reported that as the flood waters rose, the newly elected chairman, William Jack, and his council, were 'indefatigable' in their efforts to save life at the risk of their own, and to provide for those adversely affected by the flood. On the destruction of the railway bridge, Jack, and Charles Buzzacott of Graceville, negotiated with the Queensland Government to provide transport across the flooded river. Jack also arranged for food supplies to be ferried to Chelmer, and on arrival, these were distributed from the council's office at Corinda.<sup>68</sup>

Because of the decrease in population following the flood and the economic recession of 1893, the council was unable to benefit from this demonstrated concern for the local community. From 1900, following the increase in population and the implementation of extra services, the shire council again became the focus of the local area. This was reinforced by the council's fund raising and recruitment activities in support of the Great War.<sup>69</sup>

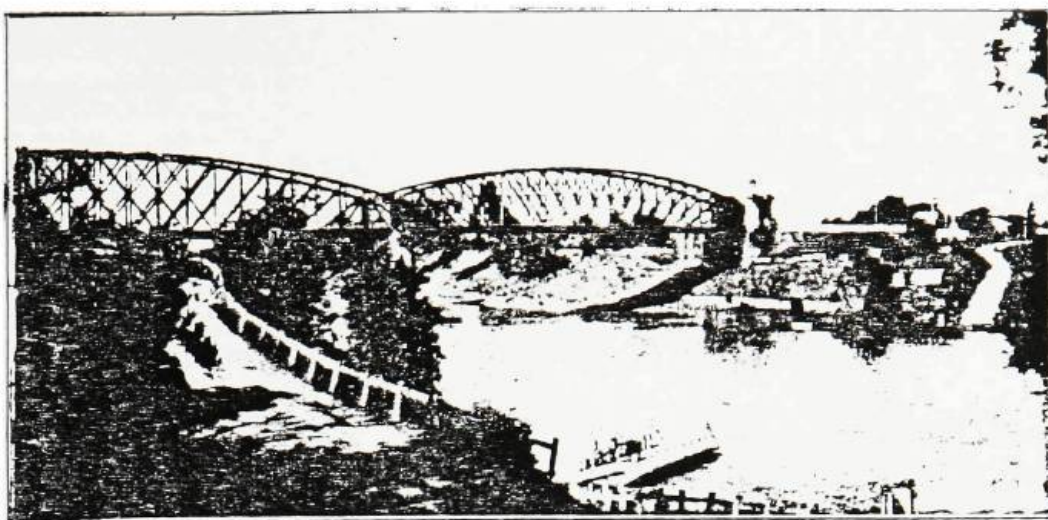
During the early 1920s, this renewed community awareness culminated in local support for the first Sherwood Shire agricultural, horticultural and industrial show. Although the council did not finance the event, many associated with the show's committees had shire council connections. They were among the fifty residents from a cross-section of the community from Chelmer to Oxley, who assisted in staging the show. The 1500 entries demonstrated the extensive support for this event from both the local area and adjacent districts.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 14 Feb. 1893, p.5.

<sup>69</sup> Sherwood financial statements, *QGG*, vol.104, no.140, 29 May 1915, p.1485, vol.109, no.56, 4 August 1917, p.516.

<sup>70</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 19 September 1921, p.4; list of entries in *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, pp.9-34.



Sherwood Shire Agricultural, Horticultural  
and Industrial Society.

# Souvenir Catalogue

## First Annual Show

*Held in Mrs. J. F. BELL'S Paddock, "Rakeevan," Graceville,*

*Saturday, September 17th, 1921.*

*GATES OPEN 10 a.m.*

*Official Opening, 3 p.m., by His Excellency, The Right Hon. Sir MATTHEW NATHAN,  
G.C.M.G., P.C., Governor of Queensland.*

**PLACE YOUR INSURANCE IN MY HANDS !**

I am the Local Agent for the

**Ocean Accident Guarantee Corporation Limited**

OF 327 QUEEN ST., BRISBANE

**FIRE, ACCIDENT, MOTOR CAR, Etc., at Lowest Rates.**

**T. C. KERR, A.I.C.A. (late A.I.F.),**

"Amboyna," Rankin Estate, Sherwood.

Town Office: Wright & Kerr, Public Accountants and Taxation Adjusters, Exton House,  
Queen Street, Brisbane

**Price, Sixpence.**

Front cover, Sherwood Shire Agricultural, Horticultural,  
and Industrial Society, Souvenir Catalogue,  
first annual show, 1921.



Local residents amongst the 2500 who attended, experienced pride, a sense of belonging and a feeling of solidarity, important elements in the formation of a close community.<sup>71</sup> Reports of the show revealed, 'that the pleasure obtained from participating, over-rode any thought of winning a prize'.<sup>72</sup> Support from the Governor of Queensland, Sir Matthew Nathan, engendered a feeling of significance. The welcome to Sir Matthew by William Hammond, shire councillor and president of the show society, emphasized loyalty to the Crown, another unifying element within the shire.

(We) welcome this opportunity to express to Your Excellency, the loyalty and devotion of the members of our body, in common with the residents in general, towards the Crown and person of His Majesty King George. ...The district is one which has reason to stand well in the traditions of the (British) race.<sup>73</sup>

Later in his welcome, Hammond drew attention to the district's progress, for which the shire council was partly responsible:

We sincerely hope that during your inspection, evidence will not be wanting that the (show) is fulfilling its mission in the district, which, though an old one, has made considerable strides but in recent years.<sup>74</sup>

By the early 1920s, local suburban residents due to their voluntary membership and support of the Sherwood Shire Council, had consistently displayed a self-help attitude similar to that pursued by the district's agriculturalists since the 1860s. But, with the increase in self sufficiency following the withdrawal of endowments, metropolitan local government became a complex and frustrating process. Those who served as shire chairmen mainly emanated from the middle class. Ironically, it was the complex city environment which motivated many of this class to seek a relaxing suburban lifestyle. Still, with the administration of local government relying on the committee system, designed to carefully consider each initiative, the shire council attracted several residents experienced in this field.

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<sup>71</sup> David B. Clark, 'The Concept of Community; A Re-examination', *Sociological Review*, 21, 1973, pp.404-409.

<sup>72</sup> James Hogan recollections, 1986.

<sup>73</sup> *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, pp.1,2.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*

Although government legislation controlled the shire council's operations, those who served as councillors were also a controlling influence. They refrained from adopting a virile, enterprising approach to solving the shire's financial problems. While the attitude of shire councillors was indicative of the stable society they represented, several initiatives motivated the emergence of a community spirit, which in turn reinforced the conservative outlook of the shire's population.

Self-help, stability, and community awareness, which characterized shire council membership was not exclusive to this social activity. Indeed, these elements were an integral part of the less onerous membership of the school of arts at Corinda. The school of arts had an affinity with the shire council because of similarities in the origin and operation of both institutions. Like local government, schools of arts originated in Britain as a result of the Industrial Revolution, and when imported to Australia by British migrants, resembled the various forms which had evolved since their inception.

Usually known in Britain as mechanics institutes, schools of arts were established during the 1820s by skilled workers, to acquire a knowledge of the techniques upon which their crafts were based. On the collapse of the first institutes, only those financially supported and organized by middle class management survived.<sup>75</sup> Although, during the mid-nineteenth century some of the British middle class considered it dangerous to educate the lower classes, others regarded education as one means of improving the outlook of the working class.<sup>76</sup> With instruction focusing on the entrepreneurial ideal rather than technical education, mechanics institutes diverted many intelligent working men 'into the paths of social ambition', instead of succumbing to working class protest.<sup>77</sup> This initiative appeared to exemplify middle class ideals, and tended to promote the middle class as a necessary and effective influence in society. Even so, as working class values were often similar to those of the middle class, the intrusion of this class caused resentment. As a result, many British

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<sup>75</sup> Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, reprint 1978), p.305.

<sup>76</sup> Mabel Tylecote, *The Mechanics Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952), pp.41-42.

<sup>77</sup> Perkin, *Origins, Modern English Society*, p.306.



workers resigned their membership of mechanics institutes.<sup>78</sup>

Moreover, as mechanics institutes increased in popularity, those established in areas other than the northern industrial cities of England, departed from the original concept by drastically reducing the educational content. Still supported by the middle class and upper working class, these institutes consisted of a library and reading room. An auditorium catered for drama and musical recitals. Occasional lectures focused on either current affairs or historical and literary topics.<sup>79</sup>

Schools of arts were initially established in Australia at Hobart in 1826, and at Sydney in 1833. These focused on technical education.<sup>80</sup> The first school of arts in Queensland, founded in 1849 at North Brisbane, was seen as an attempt 'by a cultured middle class minority, to impose their values on a society... developing traditions of its own'.<sup>81</sup> By the 1880s, little had changed. Future middle class residents of the Sherwood Shire who subscribed to the school of arts, included parliamentarian Henry Jordan, and senior public servants, James Honeyman, George Pratten, and Charles Costin.<sup>82</sup>

The library of the North Brisbane School of Arts proved as great an attraction as the weekly debates and lectures. During the 1890s the quality of the literary content of the library was often criticised, as a greater number of fictional rather than educational works were purchased. Fictional works suitable for middle class reading included classical and historical novels. For the lower middle class, the library provided 'cheap inane fiction'. Books written by 'purveyors of lurid blood curdling tales' were also available. Some

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<sup>78</sup> Mark Billinge, 'Reconstructing societies in the past: the collective biography of local communities', in *Period and Place*. A.R.H. Barker and M. Billinge, eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 24,25; Tom May, *An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1760-1970*. (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1987), p.234.

<sup>79</sup> Tylecote, *Mechanics Institutes*, pp.279-280; George Nadel, *Australia's Colonial Culture. Ideas, Men and Institutions in Mid-Nineteenth Century Eastern Australia*. (Melbourne: F.W. Chesire/Angus and Robertson, 1957), p.126.

<sup>80</sup> J. Warbuton, 'School of Arts', *Australian Quarterly*, 35, no.4, Dec. 1963, p.72.

<sup>81</sup> J.T. Cleary, 'The North Brisbane School of Arts, 1849-1889', B.A. Honours thesis University of Queensland, 1967, preface, p.3.

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*, occupational analysis of subscribers, 1881, Appendix (ii), pp. 2-5.

management committee members seeking an increase in educational material, deemed it unnecessary 'to pander to the tastes' of those who read novels. In 1895, it was proposed that the library contain 70% fictional works and 30% 'solid literature'.<sup>83</sup> Despite the excess of popular reading material, the North Brisbane School of Arts contributed to technical education, as one of its sub-committees administered the Brisbane Technical College until 1898, when this college became autonomous.<sup>84</sup>

By 1891, there were 87 schools of arts in various forms throughout Queensland, eleven of these in the Brisbane area.<sup>85</sup> Because of their popularity, the Queensland Government subsidized their operation with yearly endowments.

**Table 5**

**School of Arts in Brisbane and Queensland: total number, membership and finance, 1891-1920.**

Year	Number of Schools		Financial Membership		Finance Queensland	
	Brisbane	Queensland	Brisbane	Queensland	Government Aid	Total Income
1891	11	87	1977	7,210	£3008/17/5	£14,237/17/-
1900	9	140	2356*	10,516	£3335/18/5	£15,590/19/8
1915	15	134	2365*	12,640	£5527/19/9	£26,000/0/9
1920	15 <sup>#</sup>	216	4966*	16,112	£5878/-/-	£35,688/-/-

\* Fortitude Valley School of Arts consisted of a library and reading room. Membership was free, therefore there was no record of its membership.

# Not included were three already built: Nudgee, Clayfield, Deagon. These had yet to open.

Source: Social Statistics, *VPLAQ*, 1892, vol.3, p.581, 1901, vol.2, pp.1233-35, *QPP*, 1916-17, vol.1, pp.1377-81, 1922, vol.2, pp.247-252.

The above table indicates that until 1915, government endowment represented 21% of the total income of schools of arts, but by 1920, coinciding with the sharp increase in both

<sup>83</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 174,176,177.

<sup>84</sup> Ronald Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, (St.Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1973), p.173.

<sup>85</sup> Social statistics, *VPLAQ*, 1892, vol.3, p.581.



membership and the number of schools, government endowment decreased to 16.4% of the total income.

In 1888, when the Sherwood Shire area was still part of Yeerongpilly Division, a school of arts was established at Rocklea village. With the Yeerongpilly board office located in the village, Rocklea served as the administrative centre of the division. Local businesses included two hotels, a blacksmith and a general store. The school of arts, with an average membership of nineteen, ceased to function when the 1893 flood destroyed the building and its contents.<sup>86</sup> During 1895, Jack Dunlop, a member of a local pioneering family and descendant of an English school master, erected the first school of arts in the Sherwood Shire at Corinda. As the shire had few meeting places, he foresaw a need for such a building, and the first stage of construction, a library and auditorium, cost him £313/7/6.<sup>87</sup>

The design of the building resembled similar structures in the Brisbane suburban area. It featured pointed finials on the roof at the front and rear, with smaller finials, demonstrating the art of the woodturner, adorning the gables at the rear of the building. Carved timber gates and a high white picket fence enhanced the front of the building.<sup>88</sup> The school of arts building remained under the ownership of the Dunlop family with three trustees administering it by 1917. The shire council then assumed control, renamed the building the shire hall, and held it in trust for the residents of the district.<sup>89</sup>

A school of arts committee was formed in 1895. By 1898, the management committee included: President, Thomas Hall; Vice-Presidents, Alex Raff and Charles Costin; Treasurer, Tom Pratten; Secretary, Fabian Street; committee members, George Grice, James Hardcastle, William Lyon, William Robinson, William Smith and Alan Spowers.<sup>90</sup> Hall and Spowers served as trustees until 1917.

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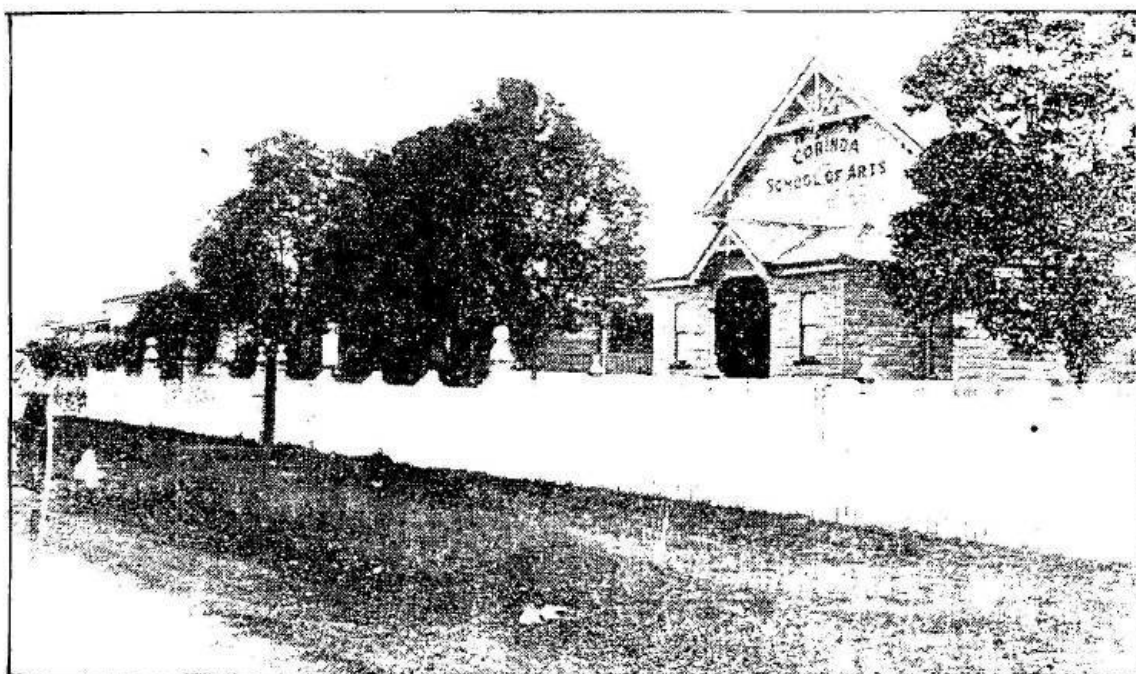
<sup>86</sup> Social statistics, *VPLAQ*, 1892, vol.3, pp. 582,584, 1893, vol.3, p.280.

<sup>87</sup> Old Bill's memories, no.5, *Oxley Village News*, c. October 1971; Social statistics, *VPLAQ*, 1896, vol.3, p.893.

<sup>88</sup> Photograph, Corinda School of Arts, John Oxley Library.

<sup>89</sup> *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.50.

<sup>90</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1898, p.9a.



Corinda School of Arts, 1906.

John Oxley Library



Similar to the British mechanics institutes, the membership of this committee reflected the middle class influence. Hall, former chairman of the shire council, and head of his own city accountancy firm, resided in Corinda above the Oxley Creek valley. Raff and Pratten, Corinda Hill identities and high ranking railway officials, were neighbours of Allan Spowers, government surveyor. Charles Costin, a clerk of the Legislative Assembly, resided in the local area for a brief period, while James Hardcastle was a government railway official. George Grice owned a city music store. Fabian Street served as divisional board clerk and shire clerk for twelve years, and with William Lyon was associated with the first Sherwood Divisional Board in 1891.<sup>91</sup> The association between local government and school of arts membership continued into the 1900s. Charles Lyon, another long term supporter, served on the committee as secretary from 1905. He was duly elected to the shire council in 1918.<sup>92</sup>

The school of arts library opened once a week on Saturday evenings. Details of reading material have not survived, but preference for fictional, rather than educational material by the North Brisbane School of Arts library,<sup>93</sup> probably set the standard for libraries in Brisbane's suburbs. Like similar institutions in Queensland, Corinda School of Arts library received government endowment, initially based on annual income.

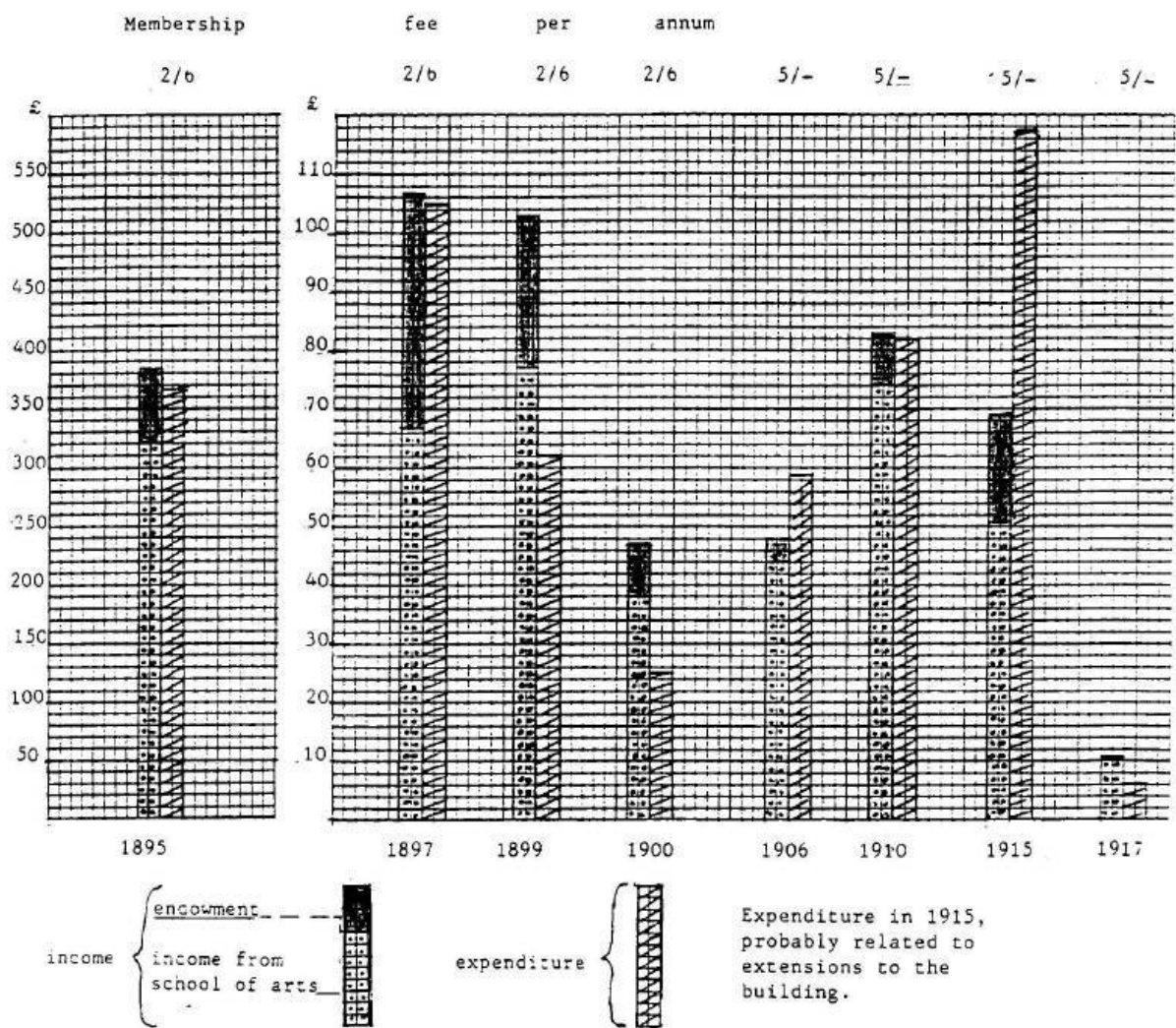
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<sup>91</sup> Extracted from *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate, 1898 and 1900*; Yearly Blue Books, government employees, *VPLAQ*, 1895-1900.

<sup>92</sup> Corinda School of Arts correspondence, 1905, QSA, A/16161; *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.48.

<sup>93</sup> Cleary, North Brisbane School of Arts, pp.176-177.

Graph 8  
Income and Expenditure - Corinda School of Arts, 1895-1917.



Source: Social Statistics, *VPLAQ*, 1896, vol.3, p.893, 1898, vol.3, p.633, 1900, vol.4, p.1237, 1901, vol.2, p.1233, *QPP*, 1907, vol.1, p.975, 1911, vol.1, p.1305, 1916-17, vol.1, p.1379, 1919-20, vol.4, p.599.

It appears that on several occasions, the Corinda School of Arts committee spent most of its annual income. The increase in reading material indicates one area to which this expenditure was channelled. (See Table 6, p.134) Still, income from 1895 to 1899, may not have reflected the popularity of the library. It probably resulted from successful fund raising activities to finance the purchase of reading material, especially as the auditor general's report in 1900, contained the cryptic comment, 'it was as much a tennis club as a school of arts'.<sup>94</sup> Following this comment, income, including government endowment, was drastically reduced, but a one hundred percent increase in annual fees from 2/6 to 5/-,

<sup>94</sup> Auditor general's report, *VPLAQ*, 1900, vol.4, p.93.



gradually improved finances. Despite an increase in reading material, membership declined after 1900. In 1915, although membership improved, it again declined during the next two years.

Table 6

Membership and reading material, Corinda School of Arts Library, 1895-1917.

	1895	1900	1903	1910	1915	1917
Membership	18	88	48	51	75	49
Number of books	110	855	1202	1535	1899	2003

Source: Social statistics, *VPLAQ*, 1896, vol.3, pp.893-6, *QPP*, 1901, vol.2, p.1233, 1906, vol.1, p.1117, 1911-12, vol.1, p.1305, 1916-17, vol.1, pp.1379-81, 1919-20, vol.4, pp.599-601.

Following the fall in membership after 1915, the shire council assumed control of the school of arts. The reduced support for the library by 1917, may have been associated with enlistment in the Great War.

Even so, between 1895 and 1917, there does not appear to be overwhelming support for the school of arts library by the local community. The degree of interest can be ascertained by comparing its membership in 1915 with the number of adults residing in Corinda and Sherwood, the suburbs closest to the school of arts. The Oxley Electoral Roll reveals that 378 males and 430 females were enrolled in these suburbs. The majority of females were engaged in household duties, either as single persons, or as wives of the males enrolled. Of the 378 males enrolled, 48 worked in either professional or managerial occupations which would have associated a husband and wife with the middle class.<sup>95</sup> One hundred and sixty five males worked in white collar or skilled occupations, and together with their wives, could be categorized as upper working class.<sup>96</sup> If the 75 subscribers in 1915 had emanated solely from middle and upper working class families, they would have constituted a minority even within these two classes.

<sup>95</sup> Extracted from *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1915.

<sup>96</sup> *ibid.*

While the reading material of the library may have provided pleasure for some residents in the privacy of their home, the main function of the school of arts appeared to focus on public entertainment, social activities and community service. In 1906, the *Brisbane Courier* observed that

the school of arts (at Corinda) is an establishment of which residents are proud. ... The building is quite a little centre of social life for young people, concerts, dances, and theatricals being frequently indulged in.<sup>97</sup>

After the Great War, the school of arts served as the venue for a travelling picture show which introduced silent motion pictures to the shire.<sup>98</sup> This motivated the establishment of open air cinemas in Sherwood: David Ogilvie in 1918, and Barney Cook in 1921.<sup>99</sup>

Until the erection of St. Joseph's church in 1912, the Roman Catholic community held their services in the auditorium. In this venue the men's auxiliary of the Red Cross constructed splints and crutches during the Great War. The building housed the memorial plaque on which was inscribed the names of those from the shire who enlisted in this conflict.<sup>1</sup> In 1919 during a flu epidemic, the building served as a base from which volunteers administered to affected households in the district.<sup>2</sup> In addition to its regular use as a polling booth, the auditorium catered for meetings convened by local candidates standing for election to the legislative assembly or shire council.<sup>3</sup>

Because of its position on the main Oxley Road, the school of arts featured prominently among the few public and commercial buildings which had emerged in Corinda by the early 1900s. In 1888, the railway station provided Corinda with its name. From 1889, a post office operated from the railway station. In 1903, on the main road, the modest shire

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<sup>97</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 9 June 1906, p.12.

<sup>98</sup> James Hogan recollections, 1986.

<sup>99</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.73.

<sup>2</sup> Old Bill's Memories, No.5, *Oxley Village News*, Oct.1971; Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, pp.62-63.

<sup>3</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 1 March 1899, p.9.



chambers had as its neighbour, the re-located Oxley police station. On the opposite side of the road stood Dow's bakery, with the homes of a few aspiring middle class residents situated nearby.<sup>4</sup> (Map 19, p.137) In its featured position, the school of arts, mainly functioning as an entertainment and community centre, resembled those mechanics institutes under middle class control in Britain, located in centres removed from the industrial areas.

Between 1891 and 1920, two social activities pursued by residents in the suburbanized portion of the Sherwood Shire, were influenced by the effect of the Industrial Revolution on British society. These activities, exemplifying self-help, were initially associated with fear. Fear of disease and pollution in the mushrooming industrial cities had motivated legislation to improve local government. Uneasiness had accompanied education of the working class in mechanics institutes. As in Britain, the middle class minority in the Sherwood Shire became an important influence, especially as the shire council and the school of arts closely resembled those of their country of origin. The complicated administration of the shire council emulated the British model of local government by committee. It required dedicated membership. The school of arts reflected the type of activity which had evolved since the establishment of this entity, the entertainment element and escapist literature replacing the original concept of self-education for skilled workers.

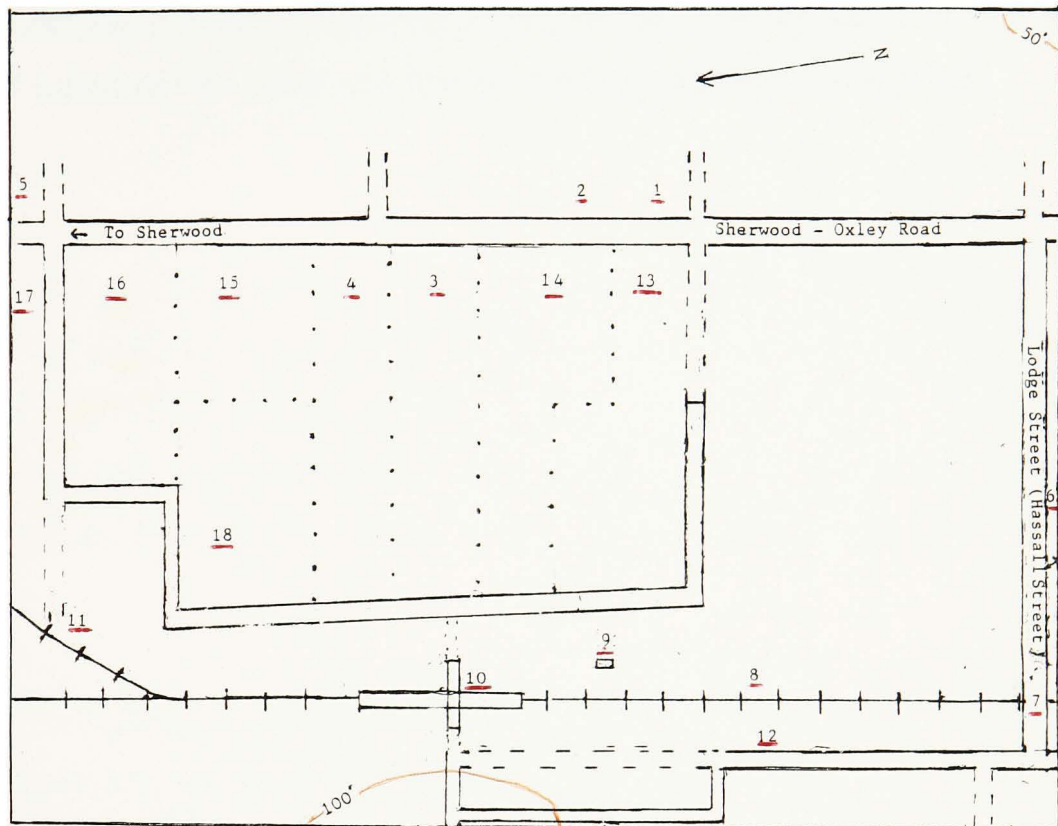
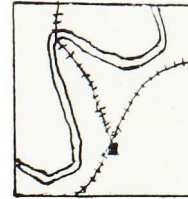
There were similarities in the operation of the Sherwood Shire Council and the Corinda School of Arts. Both relied on government endowment to improve their finances and the support of local volunteers to provide the administration. A close association existed between the membership of the shire council and the school of arts, as local residents from middle class backgrounds served both institutions for lengthy periods. The association between the two eventually assisted the council acquiring the trusteeship of the school of arts, which led to the building's transformation as the shire hall. This allowed the council control of a public facility at little expense, which the local population continued to use for entertainment and community purposes. Within eight years, the shire council, itself, experienced transition, when the Brisbane City Council assumed control of its operation.

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<sup>4</sup> Report, Posts and Telegraphs, *VPLAQ*, 1891, vol.1, p.1146; Sherwood financial statement, *QGG*, vol.54, no.2, 5 Sept. 1891, p.58; Corinda Police Station reports, *QSA*, A/41220; *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1900; *Brisbane Courier*, 9 June 1906, p.12; map, *Corinda Estate*, 1909, John Oxley Library; local recollections.

Map 19

CORINDA BUSINESS AREA, EARLY 1900s.



- |                                       |   |                            |
|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| 1. Sherwood Shire chambers, 1891      | 7. Railway gates                        | 13. Robinson residence     |
| 2. Police station, 1903.              | 8. Railway to Ipswich                   | 14. Sheffield residence    |
| 3. Dow's bakery, 1890s                | 9. Signal box, 1891                     | 15. Mather residence       |
| 4. School of Arts, 1895               | 10. Corinda railway station/post office | 16. Trotter allotment      |
| 5. Site of St. Joseph's church, 1912. | 11. Railway to South Brisbane           | 17. Tainton's bakery, 1912 |
| 6. Hopeful masonic lodge 1896         | 12. Government road                     | 18. Dunlop allotment       |

scale

L E G E N D

two inches = 145 yards

Streets constructed  
Future



Allotments.  
Contours, at 100'

Source: Report, Secretary, Posts and Telegraphs, V.P.L.A., 1891, vol. 1, p.1146; Sherwood financial statement, Q.S.G., 1891, vol. 54, p.58; Corinda Police Station, Q.S.A. A/41220: Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate, 1900; Brisbane Courier, 9 June 1906; Map, Corinda Estate, 1909. John Oxley Library: Local Recollections, Contours. Map, Ipswich one mile series, 1950.



Because of its prominence, the school of arts enhanced Corinda's potential as the shire centre, and developed within the district a community spirit which complemented the endeavours of the shire council. Due to the middle class influence, the attitude of the school of arts management committee coincided with that of the shire council, so that both institutions assisted the retention of a stable outlook in the community. During this period, other social activities again attracted wide-spread support from local residents, and like the shire council and school of arts, these activities reinforced the conservative outlook.

## CHAPTER 4 STABILITY: FRATERNAL LODGES, FRIENDLY SOCIETIES AND SPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

The middle class again influenced the administration of several social activities in the shire, particularly the diverse fraternal lodges, friendly societies and sporting organizations. Like the shire council and school of arts these emanated from Britain and attracted extensive support in Brisbane, provincial cities and rural areas of Queensland. Despite their diversity, these institutions and organizations when established in the Sherwood Shire, assisted in maintaining stability, by encouraging their membership to adopt responsible attitudes.

The first lodge in the Sherwood Shire area, the Oxley True Blues Orange Lodge was founded in 1876. In 1896, the freemasons formed the Hopeful Masonic Lodge. Between 1900 and 1920, four friendly societies established themselves locally. These included the Pride of Oxley Oddfellows Lodge, Loyal Sherwood Forest Oddfellows Lodge, Alliance Rechabites Tent and the Sherwood Oak Druids Lodge. The origins and functions of these institutions varied.

The Loyal Orange Lodge originated in Northern Ireland in 1795. Born out of conflict between protestants and Roman Catholics, the first lodges were established in Queensland following separation. By 1893, ten of the forty six Queensland lodges functioned in Brisbane. Of the fifty one lodges in Queensland in 1911, fifteen male lodges and four female lodges were located in Brisbane and the suburbs, all responsible to the Loyal Orange Institution of Queensland.<sup>1</sup> Orange Lodge membership represented a cross-section of the community, with the central administrative body predominantly middle class.<sup>2</sup> Orange Lodges promised allegiance to the 'King and his heirs', as long as they supported 'the Protestant ascendancy'. Moreover, they subscribed to the moral law as in the ten commandments, and upheld the British constitution.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Tony Gray, *The Orange Order*. (London: Bodley Head, 1972), p.50; *Pugh's Almanac*, 1893, p.205.

<sup>2</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1893, p.205, 1911, p.567.

<sup>3</sup> Gray, *The Orange Order*, p.59; 'Landmarks of Orange-ism', *Grand Lodge Pilot*, Loyal Orange Institution of Queensland, Oct. 1968, p.7, John Oxley Library; *Laws and ordinances*, *Loyal Orange Institution of Queensland*, 1935, John Oxley Library.



One original ordinance of the Orange institution still retained, encouraged members to abstain 'from all uncharitable words, actions or sentiments towards (their) Roman Catholic brethren'.<sup>4</sup> But the institution allowed each lodge considerable freedom in interpreting the ordinance, as imposing too rigid a control contributed to weakening sectarianism, 'the driving force' of the organization.<sup>5</sup> Still, in Brisbane during the 1890s, irrespective of the sectarian attitude encouraged by the institution's administrators, some Orange lodge members educated their children at Roman Catholic schools and assisted fund raising activities aiding Hibernian societies.<sup>6</sup>

During the early eighteenth century, the conservative freemasons formed Grand Lodges in England, Scotland and Ireland. Freemasons regularly met and interacted as a fraternity.<sup>7</sup> Following the establishment of the first lodge in Queensland in 1861, freemason lodges increased, and by 1890 numbered sixty four, with seventeen located in Brisbane.<sup>8</sup> By 1915, the number had risen to two hundred and forty three, with fifty two situated in Brisbane and its suburbs. Fifteen of the Brisbane lodges were responsible to the Grand Lodge of England and thirteen to the Grand Lodge of Scotland. The remaining twenty four were affiliated with the Grand Lodge of Queensland, formed in 1904.<sup>9</sup> The freemasons met monthly, their all male membership emanating mostly from the middle and upper classes. They pledged loyalty to the British Crown. The titles of three of their lodges in Queensland: King Edward, Prince of Wales, and Victoria, reflected this pledge. Freemasons expected their membership to believe in a Supreme Being, adhere to the moral law, and obey the laws of

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<sup>4</sup> Gray, *The Orange Order*, p.24; *Grand Lodge Pilot*, July 1971, p.6.

<sup>5</sup> Gray, *The Orange Order*, p.24.

<sup>6</sup> Ronald Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*. (St.Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1973), p.258.

<sup>7</sup> S. Knight, *The Brotherhood*. (London: Panther/Granada, 1985), pp. 24,25,32; B. Jones, *Freemasons Guide and Compendium*, (London: Harrap, 1963), p.165.

<sup>8</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1890, pp.194-197.

<sup>9</sup> A. Richards, ed., *The Centennial Story. The History of Freemasonry in Queensland, 1859-1959*. (Brisbane: United Grand Lodge of Queensland, 1959), pp. 87,88,287,293,301-308; *Pugh's Almanac*., 1915, pp.1222-1229.

the country in which they resided.<sup>10</sup>

Friendly societies expanded during the Industrial Revolution as many of the working class increased their income. Although initially creating unease among the upper class, these societies pioneered the self-help movements emanating from the British working class,<sup>11</sup> and were considered 'non-revolutionary' and 'ameliorative organizations'.<sup>12</sup> Orders such as the Oddfellows, Rechabites, Foresters and Druids, functioned as fraternal organizations which met weekly or fortnightly. Unlike the freemasons and the Orange Lodges, they provided sickness and funeral benefits. During the early 1800s, central administrative bodies such as the Grand United Order of Oddfellows, and the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows, were formed in the northern industrial cities of England, for the 'purpose of affording each other mutual protection and advice'.<sup>13</sup> Most friendly societies were administered by the 'self-made' middle class.<sup>14</sup>

Friendly Societies, when established in Australia during the 1830s and 1840s, attracted labourers as well as white collar and skilled workers. By 1873, 83% of Victoria's membership were engaged in manual occupations. From 1860, at least seven friendly societies were established in Brisbane and throughout Queensland. Following the admission of females during the 1890s, the membership of friendly societies reached 48,494 by 1915, representing 10% of Queensland's population. With a member's family entitled to benefits, at least 30% of the population were influenced by these societies. Societies of British origin

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<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, pp.301-303; Knight, *Brotherhood*, pp.309-310.

<sup>11</sup> P.H. Godsen, *The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), p.34.

<sup>12</sup> Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, reprint 1978), p.382.

<sup>13</sup> R.W. Moffrey, *A Century of Oddfellowship*. (Manchester: Grand Master and Board of Directors, 1910), p.19.

<sup>14</sup> P.H. Godsen, *Self Help*. (London: Batsford, 1973), p.89.



attracted 95.7% of friendly society membership in Queensland.<sup>15</sup>

Friendly societies originating in England re-affirmed their support for Britain and the Crown. By 1915, the combined membership in Queensland of the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows, the Grand United Order of Oddfellows, and the Independent Order of Oddfellows, numbered 17,000. The Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows often prefixed the names of their lodges with Loyal: Loyal Queen of England, Loyal Prince George, and Loyal Duke of Edinburgh. Similar Orders with large membership in Queensland during 1915, included Protestant Alliance 8500, Foresters 5800, and Rechabites 5200.<sup>16</sup> When naming their lodges or tents, these Orders often remembered British personalities, such as John Wesley, General Gordon and Lord Beaconsfield.<sup>17</sup> The finances of friendly societies were subjected to the scrutiny of government officials who attested to their soundness.

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<sup>15</sup> David Green and Lawrence Cromwell, *Mutual Aid or Welfare State. Australia's Friendly Societies*. (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1984), p.13, with beneficiary percentage estimated from Table, year 1913, p.218; Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies, *QPP*, 1916-17, vol.3, pp.15-17, 23-25.

<sup>16</sup> Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies, *QPP*, 1916-17, vol.3, pp.5-25.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.* Rechabites referred to their lodges as 'tents'.

Table 7

Details of British Friendly Societies whose financial membership in Queensland numbered at least 350, between 1890 and 1915.

Year	Number of Societies*	Number of lodges#		Financial members		Capital nearest £
		Brisbane	Queensland	Brisbane	Queensland	
1890	7	56	202	4258	14220	£111,733
1900	8	93	258 +	7649	27822	£241,332
1915	8	114	474	16027	46442	£780,296

\* Societies: Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows, Ancient Order of Foresters, Grand United Order of Oddfellows, Protestant Alliance, Hibernian Australian Catholic Benefit Society, Independent Order of Rechabites, Ancient Order of Druids, 1890, 1900, 1915. Independent Order of Oddfellows, 1900 and 1915, only.

# Includes female lodges, 1900, 1915, and juvenile lodges, 1890, 1900.

+ Does not include Victorian lodges affiliated with Druids in Queensland.

Source: Report, Registrar, Friendly Societies, *VPLAQ*, 1892, vol.4, pp. 880,895-936, 1901, vol.2, pp.1491-1525, and *QPP*, 1916-17, vol.3, pp.19-26.

The fraternal lodges and friendly societies functioning in the Sherwood Shire during the 1890s and early 1900s, were established by local residents already members of the relevant Orders. Three members of the shire's agricultural families founded the Oxley True Blues Orange Lodge: Thomas Johnston as master, Thomas Mullin, depute master, and George Donaldson, secretary.<sup>18</sup> Although a lodge hall erected in 1885 on part of Thomas Johnston's holding at Sherwood, was inundated during the 1893 flood, it survived to continue as the monthly meeting place on the Tuesday evening on or before the full moon.<sup>19</sup>

Between 1895 and 1910, the lodge averaged twelve to fourteen members. These included George Bowler of Oxley, a dairyman and future shire chairman; John McCulla, a roadsman, and George Wood, an engineer, both of Sherwood. The membership extended

<sup>18</sup> Oxley True Blues membership, Loyal Orange Institution of Queensland, extracted by secretary, G. Mullin, 1989.

<sup>19</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1893, p.205.



beyond the shire to South Brisbane, and to Wilston and Enoggera on Brisbane's northside. From 1915 to 1920, membership, which now included females, averaged forty, with support solely confined to the local area. Only a few members were engaged in professional and white collar occupations. Nearly 70% of the membership worked in skilled, unskilled and agricultural occupations, with several of these serving in administrative positions in the lodge.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the apparently biased constitution of the Orange Order and the bigoted attitude of some of its members, the lodge functioned within a district whose population during the 1860s and early 1870s, was considered non-sectarian.<sup>21</sup> The combined Orange lodges picnic held at Chelmer in 1874, though containing some anti-catholic elements had favourably received Roman Catholic Bishop James Quinn when he addressed them.<sup>22</sup> It would appear that since the establishment of the Oxley True Blues lodge, the mainly agricultural and working class membership refrained from public demonstration of anti-Roman Catholic sentiment in the shire area. This occurred without a dominant middle class presence in the Oxley True Blues Lodge, and indicated that locally, those of lower status were capable of responsibly administering their own social group.

The freemasons established the Hopeful Lodge at Corinda in 1896. This lodge, registered 2634 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England, met on the Monday nearest the full moon at 'Mr Dunlop's hall', the school of arts, Corinda, moving later to a smaller hall in a nearby street. In 1914, the lodge purchased the former Methodist Church in Skew Street, Sherwood, where it continues to meet. Hopeful's sixteen foundation members originated from masonic lodges situated between Ipswich and Brisbane. The membership, 26 at the end of 1896, fluctuated from 22 in 1900, 13 in 1905, to 50 by 1915. By 1920, membership stood at 66.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Oxley members, Loyal Orange Institution of Queensland, extracted by secretary, G. Mullin, 1989. The number of females is not known.

<sup>21</sup> John Moffatt, 'Reminiscences of Sherwood', in *Sherwood Shire Agricultural Horticultural and Industrial Society, Souvenir Catalogue*, first annual show, 1921, p.43.

<sup>22</sup> J. Kerr and J. Armstrong, *Brisbane Railway Centenary*. (Brisbane: Australian Railway Historical Society, [Queensland Division], 1976), p.13.

<sup>23</sup> Minutes and membership records, Hopeful Masonic Lodge, 1896-1920.

During its first twenty five years, 90% of Hopeful Lodge's membership resided locally.<sup>24</sup> Most were located in middle class areas in Corinda and Chelmer and adjacent neighbourhoods. Their ages ranged from thirty to fifty years. Overall membership included owners of local businesses and those employed in professional, public service, white collar and skilled occupations. The occupation of new members from 1896 to 1920 reveals this trend.

**Table 8**  
**Occupations of new members, Hopeful Lodge, 1896-1920.**

Occupation	1896	1900-5	1907-10	1915-1920
Professional/responsibility	12	4	2	8
Small businessman	3	4	4	2
White collar	8	4	4	15
Skilled	2	-	-	10
Semi-skilled/unskilled	1	1	1	7
Agricultural	-	-	-	1

Source: Membership records, Hopeful Masonic Lodge, 1896-1920.

The above table indicates that until 1915, few skilled and unskilled workers constituted the new membership. During its early years, the lodge's exclusive attitude was reflected in its fees. First year membership could cost £7/7/-, with the purchase of regalia an added expense. The increase in membership during the 1915-1920 period has been associated with voluntary enlistment in World War I, which was seen as a 'great leveller', as the lodge approved of volunteers who served in this war.<sup>25</sup> Those in white collar and skilled occupations, appeared to be the main respondents to this change in attitude.

Of the eighteen members who served as master of Hopeful Lodge between 1896 and 1920, thirteen resided in the shire. Six held responsible positions in either the public service or the railways. Professionals, white collar workers and small businessmen constituted the

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Private recollections, 1989.



remainder. It was usual to serve as master for one year, but Alan Spowers (1897-1898, 1900-1901) and Thomas Hall (1898-1900), affluent residents of the shire, served two terms. Like Hall, other masters, such as Charles Lyon, Alexander Robinson and Arthur Webb, were associated with the shire council.<sup>26</sup>

Those who had served as master continued to control the lodge. It was their responsibility to appoint most of the officer bearers, and only members likely to uphold the honour of the lodge were selected. A disciplined attitude prevailed at each meeting. Members were required to wear a dinner suit. They were not permitted to act in an unbecoming manner. Sitting with the legs crossed was not tolerated.<sup>27</sup>

The first friendly society in the Oxley Creek area was established at Rocklea during 1886. Named the Loyal Pride of Rocklea Lodge, it affiliated with the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows.<sup>28</sup> The first oddfellow's lodge formed in the Sherwood Shire, the Pride of Oxley, met at Oxley from 1900.<sup>29</sup> It was responsible to the Brisbane district of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows, its membership reaching twenty four during its first year.<sup>30</sup> By World War I, Manchester Unity had established the Loyal Sherwood Forest Lodge at Sherwood with a membership of fifty.<sup>31</sup> The year 1913 saw the formation of the Alliance Tent No. 63, by the Queensland District of the Independent Order of Rechabites. The Alliance Tent met on alternate Monday evenings in the parish hall, Sherwood, the initial membership numbering thirty five.<sup>32</sup> In 1920, the Sherwood Oak Lodge, responsible to the Grand United Order of Druids, attracted thirty three foundation

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<sup>26</sup> Memorabilia listing masters of Hopeful Lodge; Hopeful Lodge membership; *Queensland Electoral Rolls, Oxley Electorate*, 1900, 1915, 1921.

<sup>27</sup> By-laws of Hopeful Masonic Lodge; private recollections, 1989.

<sup>28</sup> Report, Registrar, Friendly Societies, 1900, *VPLAQ*, 1901, p.1506.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, 1901, vol.2, p.1509; Registration, Pride of Oxley Lodge, under the Friendly Societies Act of 1894, *QGG*, vol.74, no.15, 21 July 1900, p.115.

<sup>30</sup> Report, Registrar, Friendly Societies, 1900, *VPLAQ*, 1901, p.1525.

<sup>31</sup> Report, Registrar Friendly Societies, 1915, *QPP*, 1916-17, vol.3, p.16.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, p.18; *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.72.

members.<sup>33</sup>

Pride of Oxley's five foundation members included a local railway official, a farmer and a policeman.<sup>34</sup> The membership of the Grand Lodge of the Order was mostly from Brisbane's lower middle class, but Pride of Oxley's administration appeared free of members of this class. Between 1900 and 1920, Oxley's new membership comprised farmers, small businessmen, and skilled and unskilled workers.<sup>35</sup> Like other friendly societies, the minimum age of admission was sixteen years. Of 26 new members, seven were in their teens, 14 in their twenties and five in their thirties. Sons often followed fathers into the lodge.<sup>36</sup>

An indication of the financial administration of individual lodges is derived from Pride of Oxley's first annual statement, and Pride of Rocklea's thirteenth statement. Both statements indicate the lodge's financial obligation to the district administration who paid funeral benefits directly to the family concerned. Rocklea's statement indicates how funds were accumulated over fourteen years.

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<sup>33</sup> Report, Friendly Societies, *QPP*, 1920, vol.2, p.348.

<sup>34</sup> S.H. Irwin, *One Hundred Years of Grand Oddfellowship in Queensland, 1863-1963*. (Brisbane: G.U.O.O.F., 1963), p.19; membership, Pride of Oxley, 1900-1921, Archives, Grand United Order of Oddfellows, Queensland.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*



Table 9

Comparison of operating costs, Pride of Oxley, (G.U.O.O.F), and Pride of Rocklea, (M.U.I.O.O.F.), 1900.

	Oxley, first year (Sherwood Shire)		Rocklea, 13th year (Yeerongpilly Shire)	
<u>Balance</u> , 1/1/1900,				
Benefit fund	nil		£201/13/7	
Management fund	nil		£ 5/-/-	
Total Balance	nil			£206/13/7
<u>Receipts</u>				
Benefit fund				
members subs	£22/5/5		£43/9/9	
interest/property	-		£14/16/2	
other receipts	£ 2/15/-			
Total benefit fund		£25/0/5		£58/5/11
Management fund				
members subs	£21/18/-		£52/17/11	
other receipts	£ 1/-/-		£ 5/11/ 9	
Total management fund		£22/18/-		£58/9/8
Total receipts				
inc. balance, 1/1/1900		£47/18/5		£323/9/2
<u>Expenses</u>				
Benefit fund benefit				
payments	-		£29/16/8	
district dues	£10/8/9		£11/19/9	
Total benefit fund				
expenses		£10/8/9		£41/16/ 5
Management fund				
benefit payments	£4/17/5		£32/15/8	
management expenses	£2/19/7		£15/15/6	
district dues	£-/17/3		£ 5/ 9/2	
other	£-/6/-		-	
Total management				
Expenses		£9/0/3		£54/ 0/ 4
Total Expenses		£19/9/-		£95/16/ 9
<u>Balance</u> 31/12/1900				
Benefit fund	£14/11/8		£218/3/1	
Management fund	£13/17/9		£ 9/9/4	
Total Balance		£28/ 9/5		£227/12/5*
Financial members	24		34	
31/12/1900				

While benefits could be paid from management expenses, the benefit funds could not be used to boost management funds. It would appear that approximately half of the members subscriptions were channelled to either fund. Extra income appeared to be derived mostly from bank interest and property.

\* Rocklea had £69/-/- in mortgages.

Source: Report, Registrar, Friendly Societies, VPLAQ, 1901, vol.2, pp.1514-25.

In contrast to Pride of Oxley's small membership and meagre finances, the Loyal Sherwood Forest Oddfellows Lodge and the Alliance Rechabites Tent attracted a larger membership, and had more funds at their disposal during their early years. Pride of Oxley's membership may not have increased appreciably, but like Sherwood Forest and Alliance, its finances had improved markedly by 1920. This has been attributed to successful fund raising activities, such as dances and picnics, in which wives, families and other local residents participated.<sup>37</sup>

**Table 10**  
**Financial Members and Capital of Friendly Societies in the Sherwood Shire, 1900-1920.**

Lodge/Tent	Year	Financial members	Capital #
Pride of Oxley	1900	24	£ 28
	1915	20	£245
	1920	26	£363
Alliance	1915	35	£ 87
	1920	60	£331
Sherwood Forest	1915	50	£158
	1920	78	£450
Sherwood Oak*	1920	47	£35

\* Newly established.  
# Capital designates the balance at the end of each financial year.

Source: Reports of Friendly Societies, *VPLAQ*, 1901, vol.2, p.1525, *QPP*, 1916-17, vol.3, pp.16-18, 1921, vol.2, pp.648-50.

The friendly society lodges elected a new chairman every six months, with working class members eligible for this office. Offices, such as secretary and treasurer, which were not part of the progressive system of 'going through the chairs', were usually held for several years by white collar workers or those in supervisory occupations. At their meetings, each lodge performed ceremonies designed to motivate responsible behaviour, and to improve, sustain or reinforce the morality of its membership. Self-help was especially regarded as a redeeming characteristic.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Fund raising information, Grand United Order of Oddfellows, Queensland, 1989.

<sup>38</sup> Lodge information, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, pp.71-72; Green and Cromwell, *Mutual Aid or Welfare State*, pp.25-28.



As was the custom, fees payable to friendly societies in the Sherwood Shire varied according to age. The 1921 benefit schedule of the Sherwood Oak Druids Lodge provides an example.

Table 11  
Fees, Sherwood Oak Druids Lodge, 1921.

Full Benefits - sickness and funeral				
Age	16-40 years		40-45 years	
Status	single	married	single/married	
Entrance fee	2/6	5/-	20/0	
Weekly contributions	16-24 years 1/2	25-29 years 1/3	30-34 years 1/5	35-39 years 1/8

Honorary members\* (medical and chemist benefit only)  
Entrance fee: 5/-; Quarterly contribution 2/6;  
Quarterly doctor/chemist levy, 7/6.

\* Honorary members, were usually over 45 years, and did not receive full benefits. Some were not interested in benefits and only joined for social reasons.

Source: Sherwood Oak fee schedule in *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, pp.71-72.

The fees of the Pride of Oxley Lodge were similar to those of the Druids. The Loyal Sherwood Forest Lodge when advertising their benefits, inferred a graduated scale, 'the sooner you join the less you pay'. (Advertisement, p.151) In 1900, government skilled workers received £3 to £4 per week with labourers earning 8/- a day. In the Sherwood Shire, those with steady incomes of at least £2/10/- per week, could afford the fees and subscriptions and were therefore potential friendly society members.<sup>39</sup>

Each lodge or tent paid its own sickness benefits, which included medical fees and chemist prescriptions. Single members, and married members along with their wives and children under sixteen years of age, were the main beneficiaries. The Rechabites extended these benefits to the widowed mother of unmarried members, while the Druids included brothers and sisters of a single member if his mother was widowed. Members of the Oddfellows, Druids, and Rechabite Orders when absent from work because of illness, could

<sup>39</sup> 'The Blue Books', government employees, *VPLAQ*, 1901, vol.2, p.195.

## THE LOYAL SHERWOOD FOREST LODGE

Invites you to join them and receive the benefits which they enjoy.

*Benefits:* Sickness, £1 per week for first six months; 10/- per week following six months; 5/- per week for remainder of sickness. *Mortality:* On death of male member, £30; and female member, £15.

• The Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows- the largest and wealthiest Lodge in the World.

Men, why not join a Friendly Society? Do not delay, the sooner you join, the less you pay.

*Secretary:* E. B. Dart, Parish Hall, Sherwood.

Advertisement, Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue, 1921, p.72.

N.B. Red underlining by author.



be assured of a minimum of £1 per week for six months. The district or central controlling body to which these local Orders were responsible, also paid a minimum of £30 in funeral benefits.<sup>40</sup>

**Table 12**

**Benefits, Loyal Sherwood Forest and Sherwood Oak Lodges, and the Alliance Tent, 1921.**

Lodge or Tent	Sick allowances per week	Funeral benefit
Loyal Sherwood Forest Lodge (Manchester Unity)	£1 for first 6 months; 10/- for next 6 months; 5/- for remainder of sickness	£30 on the death of a male member; £15, a female member.
Sherwood Oak (Druids)	As above after six months membership	£40 on the death of a new member. £60 after one year membership. Funeral allowance for wife, after husband has completed one years membership, £15.
Alliance (Rechabites)	£1 for 52 weeks; 10/- for next 26 weeks; 5/- for remainder of sickness.	£40 on joining; £50 after 14 years membership; £55 after 21 years membership.

Source: Lodge information, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, pp.71-72.

By 1920, the combined membership of fraternal lodges and friendly societies in the Sherwood Shire totalled 322. Yet this number was not representative of all those in the shire supportive of these organizations. A regular evening train service allowed other residents to join city based lodges, including Orders not yet established in the shire. Visits between city and local lodges belonging to the same Order, strengthened the bonds of each and reinforced the expected standards of responsible behaviour.

Most fraternal lodges and friendly societies usually maintained a low profile in the local area. Except for occasionally advertising a social function they appeared concerned solely with their own operation. Even so, the effect of these institutions in the Sherwood Shire extended further than individual membership. Orange Lodge members exhibited greater restraint than their traditional image suggested, and therefore were not a disruptive element in the community. Members of the disciplined Hopeful Masonic Lodge participated in local organizations, particularly the administration of the shire council. Because of their wide

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<sup>40</sup> Lodge information, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, pp.71-72.

ranging benefits and self-help attitudes, friendly societies influenced the lifestyle of numerous families. In the administration of these institutions, the influence of the middle class was again evident. Although the Oxley True Blues Orange Lodge and the Pride of Oxley Oddfellows Lodge, allowed agricultural and manual workers to participate in their administration, the central administrative or governing bodies of these lodges were controlled by sections of the middle class. Consequently, the conservative outlook, an integral part of the middle class presence in the Sherwood Shire, was strengthened by the ideals upon which fraternal lodges and friendly societies were based.

The conservative outlook was again reinforced by competitive social activities of a sporting nature, which attracted a cross-section of shire residents. It has been suggested that rather than from social institutions and systems of government, Australians appeared to have inherited much of their conservatism from 'an apparently frivolous activity' such as sport.<sup>41</sup> While the rules associated with playing sport contributed, those who administered or controlled sporting organizations were equally influential in the development of this outlook. Most Australian sport originated in Britain, where, during the 1850s, a positive reaction to manly exercises created a greater interest in team sport, rather than individual brutish and dangerous sports.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, games, especially those played in teams, inculcated responsibility, morality and loyalty, and contributed to the development of solidarity and patriotism in a community. When promoting team sports, religious bodies and public school administrators focused on these characteristics.<sup>43</sup>

The positive attitude to team sport also coincided with the gradual improvement in the standard of living among the working class, as many benefited from the effects of the Industrial Revolution.<sup>44</sup> Because of the slight increase in the amount of leisure time

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<sup>41</sup> Brian Stoddard, 'The Hidden Influence of Sport', in *Constructing a Culture*, V. Burgmann and J. Lee, eds. (Fitroy, Vic.: McPhee Gribble/Penguin Books, 1988), p.124.

<sup>42</sup> A. Briggs, *Mass Entertainment: The Origins of Modern Industry*. (Adelaide: Griffin, 1960), p.7.

<sup>43</sup> Keith Sandiford, 'Victorians at Play: Problems in Historical Methodology', *Journal of Social History*, 15, 1981-82, pp.272-3, 277.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*, pp.275-6.



available to the working class, the elite feared that it might not be used constructively.<sup>45</sup> Consequently, as part of the strategy to maintain a stable society, sport became the tool of the middle and upper classes, as well as religious bodies.<sup>46</sup> Phrases which influenced sporting conduct, such as 'play the game' and 'it's not cricket' passed into common usage, to illustrate and emphasize expected forms of behaviour.

Commenting on the importance of sport in Australia, historian, W.F. Mandle, considered that Australians

wished to retain a glowing fantasy about sport, that it remain as its major English public school creators intended: competitive recreation, productive of healthy minds in healthy bodies.<sup>47</sup>

During the 1890s, Brisbane's Exhibition Ground, Woolloongabba Cricket Ground and Breakfast Creek Sports Ground, catered for team sports, with players outnumbered by spectators.<sup>48</sup> Private schools included rugby union, rowing and athletics in their activities.<sup>49</sup> In addition to the health benefits derived from sport, Mr. R.H. Roe, Brisbane Grammar School headmaster, maintained that sport, rather than dances and parties, taught boys to grow 'public spirited and chivalrous'.<sup>50</sup>

In Brisbane, participation in sport became allied to status, with golf and sailing attracting the upper classes, and cricket and football the preserve of the middle and working classes. Tennis, which brought men and women together as team players, was initially supported by the middle and upper classes. Athletics, a less costly activity, drew its main

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<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, p.276.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, pp.275-279.

<sup>47</sup> W.F. Mandle, 'Sports History', in *New History - Studying Australia Today*. G. Osborne, W.F. Mandle, eds. (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1982), p.83.

<sup>48</sup> Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, pp. 198,199.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Quoted from headmaster's report, Brisbane Grammar School, 1905, by Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, p.199.

supporters from the working class.<sup>51</sup> Several of these sports when established locally attracted Sherwood Shire residents, both as players and as administrators.

The first official sporting club located in the Sherwood Shire was organized from outside the local area. In 1896, a meeting of city businessmen held in the A.M.P. chambers, formed the Brisbane Golf Club.<sup>52</sup> The club constructed a nine hole course at Chelmer west, between the railway line and the river. Initially restricted to males, the Brisbane Golf Club became the first home of golf in Queensland. Membership was by nomination and election. This, together with an annual fee of two guineas, the cost of equipment and the club's social activities, limited membership to the middle and upper classes.<sup>53</sup>

During the club's early years, notable members included the Governor of Queensland, Lord Lamington, and the Premier, Sir Hugh Nelson. Of sixty six business and social addresses listed by members between 1896 and 1903, fifteen were associated with banks, nine with the public service, seven with the Queensland Club and six with Government House. Country member's addresses included properties on the Darling Downs at Cambooya, Beauraba and Eton Vale.<sup>54</sup>

In 1901, when the club engaged its first professional, the initial membership of 29 had risen to 146. This was also the year the club staged Queensland's first amateur championship. By 1903, 192 male members had been elected, although resignations and deaths reduced the actual membership to 170. Members residing within the Sherwood Shire were a minority. Of the 29 foundation members, only four were shire residents. In 1903, the club had at least ten local members, all middle class residents, including Thomas Hall of Corinda.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, pp. 211,212.

<sup>52</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 6 November 1896, p.4.

<sup>53</sup> Male membership records, Brisbane Golf Club, 1896-1903; Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, p.209.

<sup>54</sup> Male membership records, Brisbane Golf Club, 1896-1903.

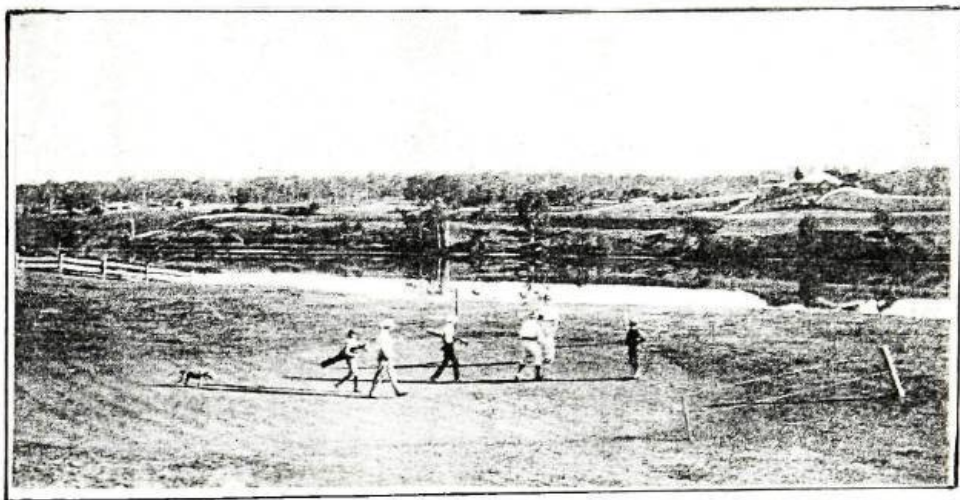
<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*





Brisbane Golf Club House, Chelmer, c. 1896.

(C.V. Abrahams, Sherwood Centenary, 1867-1967, p.39)



On the green, near the river, Brisbane Golf Club, Chelmer.

(C.V. Abrahams, Sherwood Centenary, 1867-1967, p.39)

The Brisbane Golf Club extended its membership to females in 1897, the original membership of six, increasing to 52 by June 1899. Nine members were from middle class families at Chelmer, while 23 resided nearby in Taringa Shire. As the club house was restricted to males only, the females planned to socialize in a bush house. In 1903, in order to enlarge the playing area to eighteen holes, the club moved out of the shire to Yeerongpilly, and constructed a course on farming land a mile to the east of Oxley Creek.<sup>56</sup>

The Oxley Electorate Sailing Club, another sporting organization which attracted membership from outside the shire, chose the reach of the Brisbane River at Chelmer east as its sailing area. This was central to several riverside suburbs in the shires of Sherwood, Taringa, Yeerongpilly and Stephens, which formed part of the Oxley Electorate. The club, founded in 1902, catered for all classes of craft until the 1920s, when it limited competition to fourteen foot sharpies.<sup>57</sup> Of the seventy members who served the sailing club as office-bearers and committee men between 1902 and 1921, only twenty were domiciled in the Sherwood Shire. Although this number included professionals and former graziers, those with white collar occupations dominated. The 1911 management committee consisted of twenty office-bearers, including sixteen vice-presidents. By 1921, senior office-bearers included Augustus Cecil Elphinstone of Corinda, who represented the Oxley Electorate in the Legislative Assembly, and solicitors John Cannan junior and Arthur Baynes, both of Chelmer.<sup>58</sup> Baynes was a former shire chairman.

Horse racing, introduced locally in the 1860s, and conducted on a course constructed in the grounds of the Oxley hotel, was revived intermittently, drawing entries from Ipswich,

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<sup>56</sup> Female membership, Brisbane Golf Club, 1897-1899; C.V. Abrahams ed., *Sherwood District Centenary Celebrations*, 1867-1967. (Sherwood, Q.: Sherwood District Weekly, 1967), p.39.

<sup>57</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.41.

<sup>58</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1911, p.604, 1915, p.467; Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.41; list of committee members, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.78; *Queensland Electoral Rolls, Oxley Electorate*, 1900, 1915, 1921. Oxley Sailing Club lost most of its records in the 1974 flood.



and the Nerang and Logan River districts.<sup>59</sup> In 1910, a picnic race programme included foot races, as well as swimming events in Oxley Creek, which attracted children from the local farming community. During the Great War, horse races were again staged at Oxley in aid of the Red Cross.<sup>60</sup>

Cricket appeared to be the first sport in the shire to cater specifically for local membership. In the mid-1890s, a cricket club probably the Sherwood Forest Cricket Club, drew support from farming families in the Oxley district. The Corinda Cricket Club functioned briefly in the early 1900s, with Thomas Hall, an outstanding player and keen supporter.<sup>61</sup> By 1920 another cricket club, the Sherwood Cricket Club, had attracted players from a cross-section of the shire community. It too restricted its officials to middle class residents, such as Thomas Hall and Augustus Elphinstone, who were supported by shire councillors and owners of small businesses.<sup>62</sup> The Western Suburbs Electorate Cricket Club entered the Queensland Cricket Association's fixtures during 1921. The club's territory embraced both the Taringa and Sherwood Shires, with the majority of office bearers residing in Taringa. Local players included Sherwood cinema owner Barney Cook, and Corinda resident and city auctioneer, Roger Hartigan.<sup>63</sup>

An enthusiastic Thomas Hall introduced athletics to the local area during the early 1900s. With his neighbour, John Beal, an accountant in the Lands Department, Hall led the committee supporting the Oxley Electorate Amateur Athletic Club. The committee consisted of young men from middle and lower class areas of the Sherwood Shire.<sup>64</sup> In 1914, the

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<sup>59</sup> O.E.J. Bartlett, 'Memories of Oxley', typescript, undated, in G.M. Bailey historical collection, Oxley suburb.

<sup>60</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 10 January 1910, p.5; O.E.J. Bartlett, 'Memories of Oxley', undated.

<sup>61</sup> *Pugh's Almanac*, 1893, p.136, 1895, p.154; Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.43; Profile, Thomas Hall, in *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.47.

<sup>62</sup> Membership, Sherwood Cricket Club, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.77.

<sup>63</sup> Membership, Western Suburbs Electorate Cricket Club, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, pp.76-77.

<sup>64</sup> Photograph and membership, Oxley Electorate Athletics Club, 1909-1910 season, G.M. Bailey, historical collection, Oxley suburb.

newly formed Sherwood Amateur Athletic Club attracted members from low income families, probably due to the affordable annual subscription of 5/- for seniors and 2/6 for juniors.<sup>65</sup> The club functioned until the end of 1915, when 38 of its membership of 42 enlisted in the Great War.<sup>66</sup> Re-forming after the war with a reduced membership of 26, the club maintained 'its reputation', by 'providing good sport for the young men of the district'.<sup>67</sup> Although small businessmen, skilled and white collar workers filled positions on the management committee, sufficient middle class residents and prominent personalities in the shire occupied the executive positions. These included retired grazier and former shire chairman, Fanshawe Gostling; parliamentarian Augustus Elphinstone; incumbent shire chairman, Charles Lyon; and shire medical officer, Dr. Gifford Croll.<sup>68</sup>

Following the Great War, the Chelmer Lacrosse Club entered two teams in the Brisbane competition. The game attracted support from local families associated with white collar occupations. Fathers of several players held positions on the management committee. Major office bearers included Augustus Elphinstone and Charles Lyon.<sup>69</sup>

In 1919, two sporting clubs, the Graceville Croquet Club and the Graceville Bowls Club, attracted prestigious membership. Unlike the early membership of the Brisbane Golf Club, the majority of those supporting these clubs resided locally. The females who founded the croquet club, initially played their sport on the lawns of several ladies in the district.<sup>70</sup> In 1920, the shire council granted the croquet players a ten year lease on a portion of Graceville Memorial Park. Here the club constructed a club house and green.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Membership and details, Sherwood Amateur Athletic Club, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.80.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Details of membership, Chelmer Lacrosse Club, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.81.

<sup>70</sup> Details of membership, and history of Graceville Croquet Club, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.77.

<sup>71</sup> *ibid.*



The club membership, 29 by 1921, included the wives of prominent residents on the hill at Corinda, with Thomas Hall, apparently the only male office bearer. The club considered it performed the same pleasant functions as those 'sporting bodies... conducted by the gentlemen portion of the community'.<sup>72</sup>

Several of 'the gentlemen portion of the community' supported the formation of the Graceville Bowls Club, which attracted an initial membership of seventy. During its first three years, the majority of the club's management committee belonged to the shire's middle class, with a small percentage upper class.<sup>73</sup> Sherwood resident, Chief Justice Sir Pope Cooper, served as foundation Patron. Other office bearers included Alan Spowers, foundation President, and Thomas Hall, President during 1921. Treasurer, Samuel Sowden, a rising public servant, resided on Corinda Hill in the same neighbourhood as Spowers and another foundation member, Alexander Raff. State Governor, Sir Matthew Nathan, was also a subscribing member of the club.<sup>74</sup>

Increased interest in tennis since the 1890s, led to the proliferation of tennis courts in the suburbanized portion of the shire. The large allotments to the west of the railway accommodated lawn courts, where social games were played among the middle class and their invited guests. Hardcourts located on smaller residential allotments to the east of the railway, were used for social games as well as for competitive tennis, attracting participation from white collar and working class groups. A local history project recently revealed that between the two world wars, over 120 tennis courts were situated in the suburbs from Chelmer to Oxley. Sherwood had 37 courts, Graceville 31, Corinda 27, Chelmer 20, and Oxley, nine. Streets with at least six courts included Arthur (now Ruthven) Street, Corinda, and Graceville Avenue and Richmond Street, Graceville.<sup>75</sup> (Map 20, p.161)

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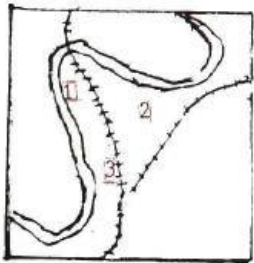
<sup>72</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Information from Graceville Bowls Club members; Graceville Bowls Club report, 1919-1921, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.79.

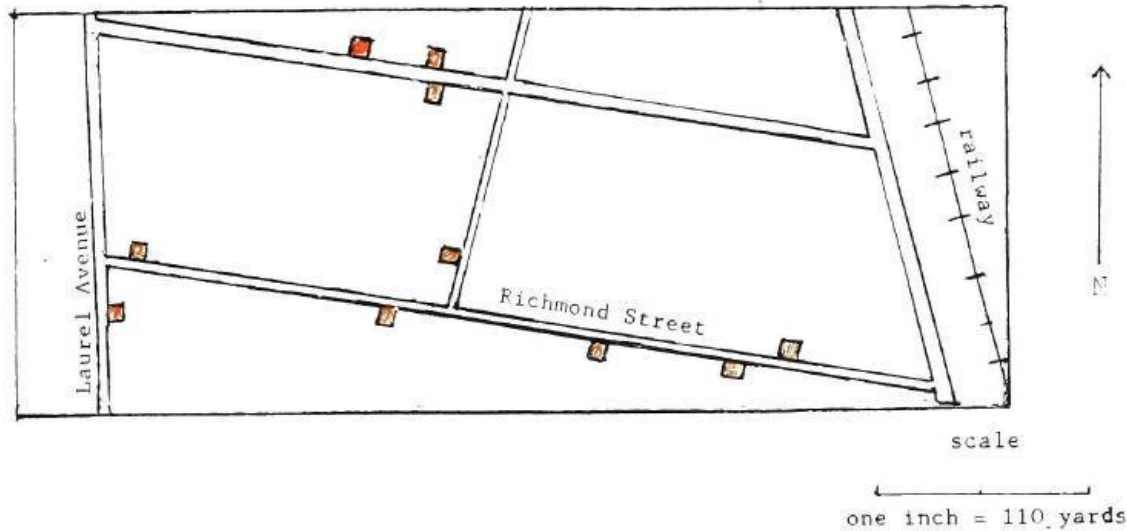
<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> 'Rediscovering tennis courts, Oxley to Chelmer between the two world wars', project committee, 1987.

MAIN CONCENTRATION OF TENNIS COURTS,  
CHELMER TO CORINDA, 1910-1930.



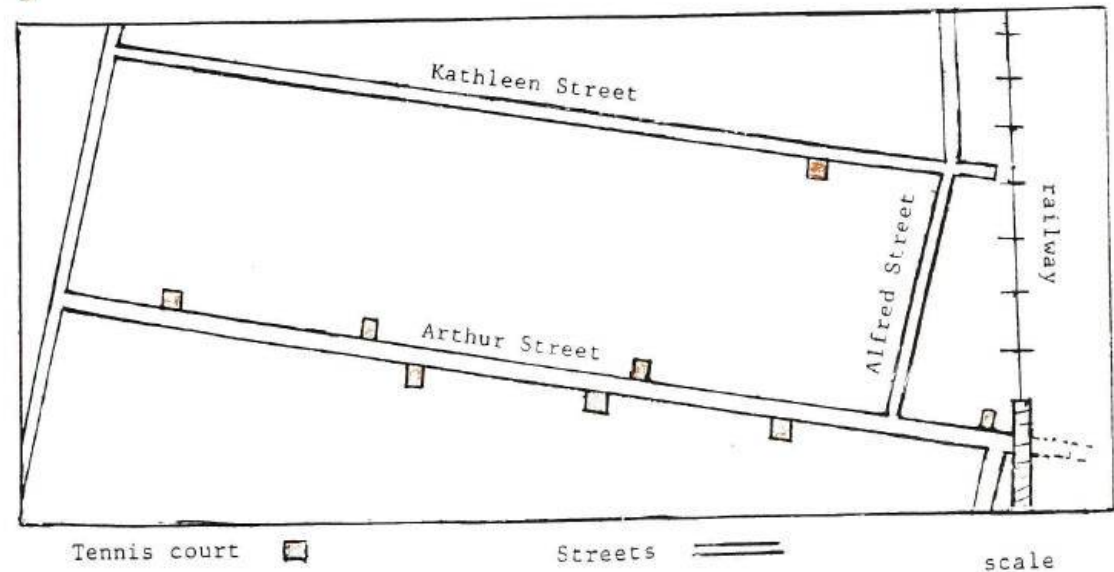
1. Chelmer West - Richmond Street precinct



2. Graceville East - Graceville Avenue precinct



3. Corinda East - Arthur Street (Ruthven Street) precinct





Following the Great War, tennis enthusiasts with white collar and working class occupations formed and administered the Western Suburbs Tennis Association. From the 1920s, this association organized graded competitions between clubs situated in the Chelmer-Oxley area, with semi-finals and finals drawing small crowds.<sup>76</sup> As participating clubs adopted a serious attitude towards local competition, the preparation and marking of courts prior to a match was carried out with application and industry. A ritual developed concerning watering, rolling and marking courts, so that a satisfactory playing surface resulted. Ant bed courts created problems, as the ants continued to build their nests and regularly removed stones to the surface. Such diligence in court preparation reduced criticism, as the advantages and disadvantages of courts were often commented upon.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to the rules of the game, customs and codes of behaviour emerged which indicated the capability of lower classes to responsibly organize their own activities. There was little support for unsporting behaviour. Females were expected to wear stockings when playing, and those ignoring this requirement became the focus of off-court conversation. Male and female couples were not encouraged to fraternize under the high-set homes of tennis court owners. It was customary for females to provide the afternoon tea and the males to pay for the balls used in the match.<sup>78</sup>

The administration of local competitive tennis by lower classes, reflects the view of British historian, F.M.L. Thompson, who maintained that 'the rise of organized sport could not be attributed entirely to the middle class'.<sup>79</sup> Still, the influence of the local middle class on a widely supported activity such as tennis, should not be underestimated. As revealed in chapter two, page 98 of this thesis, some aspects of social behaviour had been unconsciously adopted by those of lower status residing close to middle class neighbourhoods.

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<sup>76</sup> Local oral recollections, 1987.

<sup>77</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> F.M.L. Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain', *The Economic History Review*, vol.34, 2 May 1981, p.201.



Tennis club members, Sherwood.

Winners - Ladies mid-week competition, 'B' Grade, c.1925.

Photo shows desired dress, except for the female in the short dress. Probably she would have been spoken to, as the rest were local Methodists.

(Author's own possession)



The several organized sports played in the Sherwood Shire between 1891 and 1920, encouraged participation, the extent of which probably exceeded that of the combined membership of local fraternal lodges and friendly societies. Golf and sailing, non-contact sports, set an example for the less robust sports eventually played in the shire. Bowls and croquet attracted middle class membership, with lacrosse the preserve of those with white collar occupations. Cricket and athletics drew support from across the community, with management in the hands of the middle class. Enthusiasm for tennis produced dedication and responsible behaviour. Except for a few observations from former tennis players, little is known as to the extent participation in sport moulded character. In the Sherwood Shire, an enjoyable social activity such as cricket or tennis, was usually restricted to Saturday afternoons, so that its direct influence lasted only three or four hours.

In addition to their support for sporting organizations attracting prestigious membership, several middle class residents administered clubs containing lower class membership. Aided by those with white collar occupations, the middle class presence ensured that the sporting organizations functioning within the Sherwood Shire, upheld the traditions of sport and were not a detrimental influence on the local society. Sporting clubs whose membership consisted solely of shire residents, also contributed to a community awareness. In bringing together men and women from various localities in the shire, these clubs produced a greater appreciation of the district than gained by residing and socializing in one particular neighbourhood.

To the suburban residents of the Sherwood Shire, there appeared to be little connection between the prominent physically active sporting organizations and the low profile fraternal lodges and friendly societies. Nonetheless, due to their British origin, a relationship existed between these organizations and institutions, as both reinforced the conservatism within the shire society between 1891 and 1920. Like local government and schools of arts or mechanics institutes, the expansion of friendly societies and an increased interest in sport, were motivated by the fear engendered by the effect of the Industrial Revolution on British society. While fear of disease and pollution improved local government administration, the uneasiness relating to working class involvement in mechanics institutes extended to friendly societies. Moreover, concern at the increased leisure time available to the working class led to the promotion of sport as a desirable activity.

Although the middle class in Britain became involved in the administration of these social activities, ostensibly to control the supposed undesirable aspirations of the working class, many workers considered that they were capable of administering their own activities. Still, enough of the lower classes accepted the middle class presence and its associated ideals. Ironically, these social activities were transferred to a colonial suburban environment, where the causes of the initial fears were absent. While the organizational capabilities of the lower classes have been revealed in the administration of two lodges and a tennis association, the middle class minority maintained their influence in the Sherwood Shire, especially as lodges and sporting organizations contained several characteristics imported from their country of origin. In addition to the British influence on their traditions, fraternal lodges, friendly societies and sporting organizations shared a common goal. In improving character, they particularly encouraged responsible behaviour. Friendly societies revealed the responsible attribute of self-help, and with fraternal lodges promoted self-discipline, as both entities endeavoured to uphold the moral law and to maintain support for the status quo. Sport, in contributing to character formation, encouraged its supporters to act responsibly and to strictly adhere to the rules of the game. While robust sports were slow to establish in the Sherwood Shire, there was enough activity in most sports to support the observation that sport released surplus energy, which might otherwise 'be detrimental to law and order'.<sup>80</sup>

Of the middle class who supported the numerous and varied social activities which maintained stability in the shire, the most prominent and consistent was Thomas Hall. In addition to his city business commitments and membership of the Legislative Council, his thirty years of community service embraced eleven local organizations. Known in the shire simply as Tom Hall, his contemporaries considered, that irrespective of his status, he laboured sincerely 'to improve the general lot of the district'.<sup>81</sup>

Friendship appeared to feature prominently among middle class supporters of local social activities. Similar to Hall, Alan Spowers held important positions in the Hopeful Masonic Lodge. He and Hall, together with Spower's neighbour Alex Raff, were office

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<sup>80</sup> Sandiford, 'Victorians at play', p.273.

<sup>81</sup> Profile, Hon. T.M. Hall, M.L.C., *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.47.



bearers on the management committees of the school of arts and the Graceville Bowls Club. Charles Lyon, though a painting contractor, had a middle class bearing. He was the son of leading Oxley pioneer William Lyon, a member of the first Sherwood Divisional Board. As a principal office bearer, Charles Lyon supported committees of several sporting clubs, and like Hall served as master of Hopeful Masonic Lodge. Shire councillor from 1918, and shire chairman from 1920, Charles Lyon proved acceptable to the middle class, white collar groups and working class.

In his study of new societies, American Louis Hartz maintained that important cultural elements prevalent in the country of origin of immigrant settlers, influenced the nature and progress of European colonies, and that these in time became frozen fragments of the original society.<sup>82</sup> Australian historian, J.B. Hirst tacitly agreed with this observation, but questioned Hartz theory concerning which elements of working class origin were the most influential in Australian society by the early 1900s. Hartz considered that the acceptance of a collectivist and radical ideology strengthened the Australian working class; an observation reflecting the 'old Whig view of Australian history', in that these circumstances prevailed partly due to the presence of a weak middle class.<sup>83</sup> Responding, Hirst argued that British cultural elements, such as schools of arts and friendly societies, though supported by sections of the working class, were far from collectivist and radical in spirit, and indeed attracted middle class membership. He maintained that due to the increase nationally of these institutions, they too should be acknowledged as influencing both the working class and the type of society emerging in Australia at the turn of century.<sup>84</sup>

Hirst's view is especially relevant to the Sherwood Shire, as the activities supported by the working class were unrelated to collectivist and radical ideology. Working class membership was particularly evident in friendly societies. Workers, together with other shire residents supported the school of arts entertainment and community service activities, and participated in competitive sport. Therefore, control by the middle class of these and

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<sup>82</sup> Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies*. (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1964), p.9.

<sup>83</sup> J.B. Hirst, 'Keeping Colonial History Colonial: The Hartz Thesis Re-visited', *Historical Studies*, vol.21, no.82, p.103; Hartz, *New Societies*, pp. 43,44.

<sup>84</sup> Hirst, 'Hartz thesis re-visited', p.103.

other social activities, such as membership of the shire council and fraternal lodges, appears to refute any suggestion of a weak middle class, as this class though a minority were a dominating force in the Sherwood Shire. Furthermore, between 1891 and 1920, the continued presence of these social activities under middle class control, in contributing to a community spirit, not only reinforced, but consolidated the conservative outlook in the local area. Still, during this period other social activities promoting morality and the retention of family values, had an ever greater influence on this outlook.



## CHAPTER 5 MORAL INFLUENCES: EDUCATION

One day on the school verandah, I was showing a younger lad how to spin a top and as I threw it on the boards it bounced and crashed into a glass door, breaking the glass. I went to the headmaster and said respectfully, 'Excuse me Mr Larter, I have just broken the glass door with my top'. 'Thank you for being honest' he said, 'but in future show a little more responsibility and use another area to spin your top'.<sup>1</sup>

The attributes of respect, honesty and responsibility as revealed in the above recollection were three of the moral elements contributing to character formation, essential to the education of school children in the Sherwood Shire. During the 1890s, the moral influences derived from educational activities permeated the lifestyle of young people in the suburbanized portion of the shire and continued as a force into the 1900s. Contributing to these influences were primary school teachers and to a lesser extent youth leaders. These influences encouraged conformity and maintained stability by strengthening the role of the family as a social control unit.

In preparing the young for adulthood, the moral instruction at local schools basically remained unchanged from 1892 to 1910. When the children of the 1890s reached adulthood and married, their children received a similar education, supplemented by the introduction of religious instruction in State schools from 1910, and lessons in civics and morals from 1915.

As indicated in chapter one, the Sherwood, Oxley and Seventeen Mile Rocks State Primary Schools\* were established between 1867 and 1870 for children of agricultural families. By 1890, Sherwood and Oxley catered for the offspring of suburban families resident within the Sherwood Shire. In mid-1916, Darra State School opened to provide a similar service. Between 1891 and 1920, State primary school enrolments within the shire increased from 294 to 877.

\* Initially known as government schools, these schools were categorized as State schools after Federation. In this chapter during the period analysed, 1891-1920, these schools will be referred to as State schools.

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<sup>1</sup> James Hogan Recollections, 1986.

Table 13

Enrolments - Sherwood, Oxley, Seventeen Mile Rocks and Darra State Primary Schools, 1891-1920.

Schools	1891	1900	1910	1920
Sherwood	165	287	182@	532
Oxley	99	79	114	189#
Seventeen Mile Rocks	30	17	18*	18
Darra+				138
Total	294	383	314	877

\* This figure is for 1911, as annual returns 1905-1910 have been destroyed.

# The figure is for 1923, as annual returns 1912-1922 have been destroyed.

+ Darra opened in 1916 with an enrolment of 86.

@ The fall in enrolments appears to have occurred because children of early residents had finished their schooling before the offspring of the newer suburban residents had reached school age.

Source: Reports of the Secretary for Public Instruction, *VPLAQ*, 1892, vol.2, pp. 622-623,673, 1901, vol.1, pp.1100-1101; Annual Returns, 1891-1923, Sherwood school, QSA, EDU/AB78, Oxley school, QSA, EDU/AB79, Seventeen Mile Rocks school, QSA, EDU/AB98, Darra school, QSA, EDU/1520.

Increased enrolments occurred in local State schools even though St. Joseph's convent, administered by an order of nuns, the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, had opened at Corinda in 1917 with 47 enrolments. By 1919, a further 47 pupils had enrolled. During the early 1920s annual enrolments averaged sixty.<sup>2</sup>

Annual enrolments in State schools were based on pupil intake up till December each year. Head teachers also recorded the enrolment at the end of each quarter, and when compiling annual returns estimated the mean quarterly enrolment. The education department considered the average daily attendance an importance factor in assessing school numbers. By relating the average daily attendance to the mean quarterly enrolment, the department estimated the annual attendance percentage throughout Queensland. During the 1890s this ranged from 71% to 75%.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> List of enrolled pupils, St. Joseph's Convent, Corinda, 1917-1923.

<sup>3</sup> Report of Secretary for Public Instruction, *VPLAQ*, 1901, vol.1, pp.1100-1101.



In 1900, to boost school attendance, the government enforced the compulsory clauses of the Education Act of 1875. These clauses had not been previously applied, and required children from six to twelve years to attend at least 60 days out of the 110 days the schools opened each half year. To ensure that these requirements were adhered to, police acted as attendance officers. Consequently, in 1900, the annual attendance percentage rose to 78%. In 1912, the role of police as attendance officers increased, when amendments to the Education Act raised school leaving age to fourteen if a child had not reached Class V.<sup>4</sup>

Still, the use of police as attendance officers appeared limited in the Sherwood Shire, with only one officer stationed locally from 1876 to 1911. A police station initially established at Oxley, moved to Corinda in 1905. From 1911, a second police officer stationed on Ipswich Road close to the Oxley Hotel, also supervised districts beyond the shire boundary, including the township of Goodna.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, with police surveillance minimized, respect for the laws of the State by the head of the family, ultimately influenced increased school attendance, which over-rode the negative attitude towards education, initially displayed by many local agriculturalists during the 1870s.

With the exception of five children at Darra in 1916, the annual returns of State primary schools in the Sherwood Shire, indicated that children of school age residing within two miles of these schools, complied with the Education Act.<sup>6</sup> As a result, attendance percentages at the local state schools compared favourably with the Queensland average.\*

\* Fire destroyed St. Joseph's denominational school and its records during the 1970s. Attendance figures at this school may have increased the average daily attendance in the shire's suburban area.

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<sup>4</sup> Report of Secretary for Public Instruction, *VPLAQ*, 1901, vol.1, p.1092, *QPP*, 1906, vol.1, p.1312, 1915-16, vol.2, p.6.

<sup>5</sup> Reports, Oxley Police Station, QSA, A/41696, Corinda Police Station, QSA, A/41220.

<sup>6</sup> Annual returns, 1891-1923, Sherwood school, QSA, EDU/AB78, Oxley school, QSA, EDU/AB79, Seventeen Mile Rocks school, QSA, EDU/AB98, Darra school, QSA, EDU/AB1520.

Table 14

Attendance at Sherwood, Oxley, Seventeen Mile Rocks and Darra State primary schools, 1891-1920, and comparison with Queensland average attendance percentage.

Column → School ↓	1891			1900			1910			1920		
	1 Mean quarterly enrolment	2 Average daily attendance	3 col.2 % in relation to col. 1	1 Mean quarterly enrolment	2 Average daily attendance	3 col. 2 % in relation to col. 1	1 Mean quarterly enrolment	2 Average daily attendance	3 col.2 % in relation to col.1	1 Mean quarterly enrolment	2 Average daily attendance	3 col.2 % in relation to col.1
Sherwood	151	113	74.8%	229	186	81.2%	139	107	76.9%	438	344	78.5%
Oxley	85	63	74.1%	65	50	76.9%	97	72	74.2%	158#	123#	77.8%
Darra +										117	94	80.3%
Seventeen Mile Rocks	26	19	73.0%	17	15	88.2%	17*	16*	94.1%	13	11	84.6%
	262	195	74.4%	311	251	80.7%	253	195	77%	726	572	78.7%
Queensland average %		73.8%			78.6%			77%			79.7%	

+ Darra opened in 1916 with a mean quarterly enrolment of 68. Average attendance of 55, represented 80% of mean quarterly enrolment.

\* This figure is for 1911, as annual returns 1905-1910 have been destroyed.

# This figure is for 1923, as annual returns 1912-1922 have been destroyed.

Source: Reports, Secretary for Public Instruction in *VPLAQ*, 1892, vol.2, pp.662-63,673, 1901, vol.1, pp.1100-1101; Annual returns, 1891-1923, Sherwood school, QSA, EDU/AB78, Oxley school, QSA, EDU/AB79, Seventeen Mile Rocks school, QSA, EDU/AB98, Darra school, QSA, AB/1520.



School inspector, H. Denniss observed in 1919, that

if we accept the principle that life is greater than work,  
the formation of character must ever be the highest function  
of school.<sup>7</sup>

Primary schools in Queensland were subjected to a government curriculum containing character forming elements. Attendance at local State schools, as indicated in Table 14, reveal the potential for character formation within the suburbanized portion of the shire. The daily attendance at Sherwood and Oxley primary schools averaged 176 in 1891, increasing to 236 in 1900.<sup>8</sup> By 1920, with the inclusion of Darra, daily attendance had risen to 561 at these three schools.<sup>9</sup> Subsequently, an increasing number of children attending these schools became familiar with the character forming elements of the curriculum, especially the content of reading books. During the early 1900s, the *School Paper*, religious instruction and lessons in civics and morals were included in the curriculum.

The reading books, or readers, a 'treasure trove of facts, moral tales, lessons, fables and poetry',<sup>10</sup> reflected

the values and concerns of the times in which they were written, and all (shared) the same basic purpose: to inculcate such virtues in children, as would ensure their acceptance of society as it was.<sup>11</sup>

Between 1892 and 1920, Queensland primary schools used the *Royal Reader* and the *Queensland Reader*.<sup>12</sup> The *Royal Reader*, originally prepared for Victorian primary

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<sup>7</sup> H. Denniss in report, Secretary for Public Instruction, *QPP*, vol.1, 1920, pp.107-108.

<sup>8</sup> Annual returns, 1890-1923, Sherwood school, QSA, EDU/AB78, Oxley school, QSA, EDU/AB79.

<sup>9</sup> Annual returns, 1916-1920, Darra school, QSA, EDU/AB1520.

<sup>10</sup> Joanne Phillips, 'Death, discipline and duty. The world of the school readers', *The Educational Historian*, vol.2, no.1, 1989, p.1.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Greg Logan, 'Irish, royal and red. The story of Queensland's School Readers', *The Educational Historian*, vol.2, no.3, 1989, p.7.

schools, included considerable Australian content. Though supplemented in Queensland by the *Century Reader* and the *Geographical Reader*, the *Royal Reader* contained most of the character building elements. Pressure for change followed the introduction of a new syllabus in Queensland during 1905, which emphasized the need for material relevant to children of that time.<sup>13</sup> Slow to positively react, the Queensland Government eventually introduced the *Queensland Reader* to coincide with another change in the syllabus in 1915.<sup>14</sup>

Those who compiled the readers believed that 'unquestioning obedience was the cornerstone of a stable society'. The thrust of the material warned 'that every small act of disobedience' led 'to confusion, distraction and anguish'.<sup>15</sup> Often animals and birds portrayed the main characters in the stories. Like other children throughout Queensland during the 1890s and early 1900s, those attending schools in the emerging suburbs of Sherwood and Oxley, were reminded of the need for obedient behaviour, especially in one poem titled, 'What the Clock says':

Tick, the clock says, tick, tick, tick,  
What you have to do, do quick.<sup>16</sup>

In another instance, the story of two chicks, Pick and Peck, revealed how Peck, in disobeying the mother hen, fell victim to a hawk.<sup>17</sup>

The readers illustrated other desirable moral characteristics. The story of George Washington and the cherry tree exemplified truthfulness, as one passage emphasized, 'He who hides the wrong he did, does the wrong thing still'.<sup>18</sup> 'The Two Crossing Sweepers',

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<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Phillips, 'Death, discipline and duty', p.7.

<sup>16</sup> *Royal Reader*, no.2, (London: Thomas Nelson and sons, 1912 edition), pp.31-33, History Unit, Queensland Education Department.

<sup>17</sup> *Queensland Reader*, Book II, (Dept., of Public Instruction, 1914), p.87, History Unit, Queensland Education Department.

<sup>18</sup> *Royal Reader*, no.2, p.55.



disclosed how two destitute men, too upright to steal, shared a meagre food supply.<sup>19</sup> In 'Half the Profit', the kings' porter, who demanded half of what a fisherman expected to obtain from the sale of a large turbot to the king, received the other half of a beating which the astute fisherman requested as payment.<sup>20</sup> 'The Horse and the Ass' demonstrated selfishness, as the horse, in refusing to bear the load of the sick ass, ultimately had to bear his own load, and that of the ass when it died.<sup>21</sup> 'The Chinese Teacher', enjoined pupils, 'to form good habits in youth', as 'it will be easy to live well in manhood'.<sup>22</sup> Pupils in Class V, in addition to receiving instruction in patriotism and loyalty, were urged through the poem, 'Vitae Lampada', to 'play up and play the game'.<sup>23</sup>

The writers of the tales and poems did not allow young scholars to assess for themselves the moral of a story, but clearly emphasized the point, often in the last paragraph, or in a few lines of verse following the completion of a particular story. Typical examples were: 'The Ass in the Lion's Skin', 'Those who pretend to be what they are not, are laughed at when found out';<sup>24</sup> 'The Fox and the Cat', 'We should never boast of what we can do. Those that can do the most, boast the least';<sup>25</sup> 'The Fox and the Stork', 'Never do unto others, what you would not like them to do to yourself'.<sup>26</sup> 'The Daw in Borrowed Feathers' referred to the jackdaw, an unattractive bird who pretended to be a peacock. The tale revealed the 'folly of those who set their hearts above their station'. The moral implied, that 'so long as we keep in the place God has given us, people honour and respect us'.<sup>27</sup>

By the early 1900s, the *School Paper* had appeared in the classroom. This magazine-style

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<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, p.120.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, no.3, 1905 edition, pp.59-60.

<sup>21</sup> *Queensland Reader*, Book II, p.42.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, pp.116-117.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, Book V, pp.29-30.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, Book I, p.11.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, p.40.

<sup>26</sup> *Royal Reader*, no.3, pp.83-85.

<sup>27</sup> *Royal Reader*, no.3, pp.66-68.

publication issued in alternate months, contained material similar to the school readers, especially the section dedicated to civics and morals. In 1907, stories in this section enjoined children in classes I to II, to obey their parents. They were also encouraged 'to be honest so that they could be trusted by all'.<sup>28</sup> Even so, as the content of the *School Paper* varied with each issue, it did not equal the impact of the readers, which remained unchanged and a constant influence on the children of the shire during their school days.

In 1910, the State Education Amendment Act introduced religious instruction to State schools, increasing by one to two hours a week, the amount of time allocated to improving the morals of school children. This followed a twenty year campaign throughout Queensland by the Bible in State Schools League. The League's membership consisted mainly of representatives from the Church of England, with support from Wesleyans and members of the Presbyterian Church, including the Reverend John Pollock of Sherwood.<sup>29</sup>

The escalating criminal and immoral activities in the community partly motivated this reversal by protestant religions, who had vigorously supported in 1875, a secular education in government schools.<sup>30</sup> By 1889, concerned politicians maintained that few children received sabbath school training.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, Bishop Webber of the Church of England, on acknowledging that the majority of parents proved incapable of imparting religious training, criticised the State education department for omitting religious references from primary school teaching material.<sup>32</sup>

From 1902, increased support for the aims of the Bible in State Schools League, led to the introduction in the Queensland parliament in 1906, of a referendum bill designed to

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<sup>28</sup> *School Paper*, classes I and II, September 1907, p.141, October 1907, p.153, History Unit, Queensland Education Department.

<sup>29</sup> Minutes and Records, Bible in State Schools League, 1890-1912, John Oxley Library.

<sup>30</sup> Ronald Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*. (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1973), pp.293-4.

<sup>31</sup> *QPD*, 52, 1889, p.920.

<sup>32</sup> Proceedings of the ninth synod of the Church of England, Diocese of Brisbane, 1890, *Church of England Year Book*, p.61.



allow the people to decide the issue.<sup>33</sup> Although attracting strong opposition from Roman Catholic politicians, who argued that denominational schools did not receive State aid,<sup>34</sup> the Bible in State Schools Referendum Bill eventually received parliamentary approval in 1908. The referendum held in 1910 resulted in 74,228 favouring religious instruction during school hours, with 56,681 against. This ensured parliamentary support for the State Education Amendment Act of 1910.<sup>35</sup>

During the first decade of religious instruction in State schools, the efforts of local ministers to instruct, and the provision of supplementary lessons by teachers, received little attention in district inspector's reports. Still, one country school inspector claimed that religious instruction benefited character formation, emphasizing that 'pupils must believe in God', and 'must live as they believed in Him'.<sup>36</sup> Mr. W.L. Gripp, inspector for Sherwood and Oxley schools, briefly mentioned that teachers in the district regularly provided Bible lessons, with a 'fair number of schools visited by the clergy', and few problems arising from these visits.<sup>37</sup> In 1915, when the education department introduced specific lessons in civics and morals as part of the curriculum, Mr Gripp considered that formal lessons of this nature were unattractive to pupils. He appeared to support traditional methods, such as the use of school readers to encourage moral behaviour in the younger generation.<sup>38</sup>

As the education department considered character formation a gradual process, it programmed the specific areas of the curriculum to coincide with the ages of the pupils and their standard of education. With the school reader an influential aid, moral elements were regularly impressed upon the pupils from classes I to III. In these classes, the education department expected minimum ages to range from seven years in class I to nine years in

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<sup>33</sup> Minutes, Bible in State Schools League, 7 July 1902; *QPD*, 97, 1906, pp.666-672, 916-985.

<sup>34</sup> *QPD*, 97, 1906, pp.921-923, 101, 1908, p.406.

<sup>35</sup> *QGG*, vol.95, no.8, 9 July 1910, p.95; records, Bible in State Schools League, 16 November 1910, debate and vote, *QPD*, 106, 1910, pp.1248-88, 1299-1322, 1390.

<sup>36</sup> Report, Secretary for Public Instruction, *QPP*, 1918, vol.1, p.743.

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*, 1915-1916, vol.2, p.41.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, report, school inspector, W.L. Gripp, *QPP*, 1915-1916, vol.2, p.41.

class III. Between 1895 and 1920 in the suburbanized portion of the shire, the ages of children in class I were consistent with the age range expected by the education department. In class III at Sherwood, the ages matched the expected minimum, while at Oxley, and from 1916 at Darra, the ages of pupils in this class averaged ten years.<sup>39</sup> To enhance the process of character formation, pupils at Sherwood, Oxley and Darra, usually spent the customary ten and half months in each class. With the overall attendance at each school averaging 75% to 80% \*, most pupils would have had ample exposure to those elements in the curriculum relating to moral training.

Consequently, those daring to depart from the expected form of behaviour could expect little support from older pupils. One former pupil recalled an incident that occurred after the Great War, when prominent local Methodist, Thomas Fielding, served as headmaster at Sherwood.

Two of us decided to wear make-up at school. We smeared vaseline over our face, then applied flour! An older girl threatened to tell Mr Fielding, so after assembly we rushed to the taps to scrub off the muck.<sup>40</sup>

While the actions of these younger girls may have reflected certain stories in the school readers, the older girl conditioned by the school curriculum, restricted their endeavours. Indeed, due to the headmaster's leanings towards Methodism, any attempt to wear authentic make-up would have produced an even stronger reaction from the older pupils.

The degree to which students responded could also be attributed to the type of training their teachers received, and the length of service at a particular school. Prior to the establishment of a teacher training institution in 1914, Queensland State school teachers, like their counterparts in the rest of Australia, usually received their training at the local primary

\* See Table 14, p.171 for specific percentages.

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<sup>39</sup> Annual returns, Sherwood school, 1895-1920, QSA, EDU/AB78, Oxley school, 1895-1923, QSA, EDU/AB79.

<sup>40</sup> Bess 'Brooks' Mander, 'Nostalgia... do you remember when ...?' in Laurel Schneider and Robyn Jones, *The Shaping of Sherwood. A History of Sherwood State School 1867-1992*. (Sherwood: Sherwood State School Parents and Citizens Association, 1992), p.44.



school where they attended as pupils. Aspiring teachers trained for three or four years, during which time they were regularly assessed as to their teaching ability. Educationalist, R.J.W. Selleck of Monash University, considered the State primary school teacher of the 1890s and early 1900s, a 'defectively educated member of society's lower orders', as most had not been exposed to secondary education. Those instructing the pupil teacher had received similar training, and with intellectual stimulation limited, a conservative attitude pervaded the techniques used in a teacher's training.<sup>41</sup>

During the 1890s, an average of three pupil teachers received training at Sherwood, with Oxley training one pupil teacher. Ivy Berry, who completed her training in 1901, taught at this school for a further seven years. Several trained teachers on transferring to Sherwood also served for lengthy periods. Ezekial Larter remained eight years as headteacher from 1905, while his successor, Thomas Fielding, held this position for fourteen years. In 1910 Frances Kingsford joined the staff, serving for almost twenty seven years. Another teacher, Constance Sparrow, remained at Sherwood from 1914 to 1953. In 1919, John Woodyard, a senior class teacher, commenced thirty seven years service with Sherwood.<sup>42</sup>

As the majority of these teachers joined the education department as pupil teachers prior to the establishment of a training college, most exhibited an inflexible attitude in the classroom, consistent with the training methods of the 1890s and early 1900s. Because of their lengthy and dedicated service, the teachers at Sherwood taught more than one member of a family, and in Constance Sparrow's case the grandchildren of her former pupils. While influencing the moral behaviour of many children in the community, long serving teachers ultimately contributed to the adoption of conforming attitudes by an increasing number of the shire's population.

Examples of the education department's successful attempts at character training and the

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<sup>41</sup> R.J.W. Selleck, 'State Education and Culture' in *Australian Cultural History*. S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith, eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1988), pp.81-82.

<sup>42</sup> Reports, Secretary for Public Instruction, *VPLAQ*, and *QPP*, 1895 to 1920; D. Collyer and P. Byrnes, eds., *Sherwood State School Centenary Souvenir History, 1867-1967*. (Sherwood, Q.: Publications committee, Sherwood State School and District Centenary Celebrations, 1967), pp.15-16.

formation of conforming attitudes, are revealed in photographs of children attending Sherwood school during the 1890s. The pupils were at an age when the education department considered them capable of receiving moral instruction. (See pages 180 and 181) The first photograph appears to reflect the effect of the 1893 depression, as several pupils wear ill-fitting hand-me-down clothing, and are probably shoeless. In keeping with society's reaction to less attractive and undesirable elements, those dressed in this manner are relegated to the background. Most boys in the front row of the photograph are neatly attired and wear the expected clothing for such an occasion, their long socks complementing fashionable knickerbockers. In other photographs, several boys enhance their appearance with eton collars and bow ties. Like those in knickerbockers they appear relaxed and comfortable, and unlike the jackdaw in the school reader are not 'wearing borrowed feathers'. The girls conform to the expected standards of propriety by dressing in ample pinafores, or high-necked long sleeved dresses reaching to the ankles. In all photographs, the pupils are assembled in rows similar to the class room situation, thereby assisting to maintain discipline. The majority of the children appear grim faced, subdued, yet attentive, as they obediently focus on the camera. While reflecting aspects of their school readers, they are probably responding to prior instructions issued by the teacher.

The *Queensland Reader*, on replacing the *Royal Reader*, served for forty years, and although revised in 1930, it retained most of the moral elements. Subsequently, several generations were exposed to the same material, and to the added influence of long serving teachers. Passages from school readers continued to be remembered through adolescence and adulthood. Phrases from 'She's somebody's mother', which illustrated the good turn, and 'Stick to it lad, never look sad' exemplifying perserverance, were quoted with little prompting.<sup>43</sup>

Mandatory lessons in character building during school hours probably created little excitement amongst the young. In contrast, a voluntary social activity, with fun in the outdoors as the basis for moral training, proved attractive to a small number of boys in the Sherwood Shire. The Sherwood boy scouts, established in 1910 by James Knox-Dunn, a mechanical engineer, initially comprised a dozen boys aged between twelve and seventeen.

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<sup>43</sup> *Queensland Reader*, Book III, pp.18-19; J. Phillips, 'Death, discipline and duty', p.7; local oral recollections.



33



mid-1890s

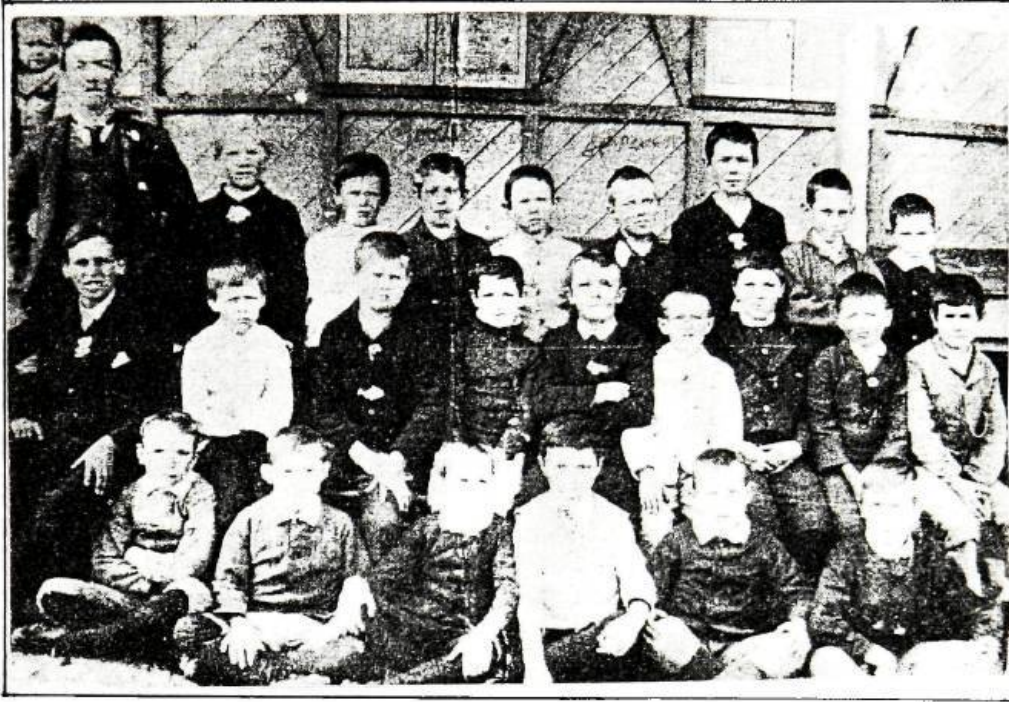
34



c.1897

Ø Miss Ivy Berry.

35



1892

(D. Collyer and P. Byrnes, Sherwood  
School Centenary, pp.4 and 10.)



These were formed into small groups or patrols located between Chelmer and Oxley. Membership consisted of boys whose fathers were either successful farmers, or had white collar or professional occupations.<sup>44</sup>

With woodcraft and bushcraft activities prominent, the scout movement contained a moral code outlined by British Boer War hero, Robert Stephenson Smythe Baden-Powell, in his book *Scouting for Boys*, initially published in 1908. This code expected boy scouts to 'do their duty to God, and to the King'. It endeavoured to motivate regular church attendance, and to instil in the young membership of the scout movement, self-discipline, initiative, obedience, loyalty, and cleanliness in thought, word and deed. These elements encouraged a boy to take his place in society as a responsible citizen.<sup>45</sup> Still, most boys joined for the fun and pleasure scouting provided.

Some sociologists considered that the boy scouts had been organized in Britain to counteract changes resulting from rapid urbanization, overcrowding and poor working conditions, which appeared to contribute to physical and moral decline. Associated with these increased changes and also causing concern, was the expansion of trade unionism and increased political representation of workers through the Labour Party, seen by many as threatening the status quo. Ironically, while aimed at boys from working class families, scouting mainly attracted middle class youth.<sup>46</sup>

The administration of the Australian League of Boy Scouts, Queensland Section, formed in 1909, was similar to the scout movement in Britain. Both contained middle and upper class supporters. In Queensland, these included, State Governor, Sir William MacGregor; Premier, William Kidston; and the Honourable E.J. Stevens, a member of Queensland's

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<sup>44</sup> Records, Sherwood Scout Group, 1921-1927.

<sup>45</sup> R.S.S. Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, memorial edition. (London: Pearson, 1957), pp.40, 48-51.

<sup>46</sup> Stephen Booker-McLay, 'The Scout Movement in Queensland, 1909-1939: Its origins, expansion and role'. Honours thesis, Bachelor of Education, Dept. of social and cultural studies in education, James Cook University, 1987, pp.2, 12, 13.

conservative Legislative Council.<sup>47</sup> A militaristic and autocratic attitude influenced scouting's administration and training, counteracting to some extent the ideal of self-discipline which Baden-Powell considered appropriate for his movement. Scout headquarters issued weekly staff orders, and promulgated detailed drill instructions, which referred to field order, review order, marching order and the formation of hollow squares when conducting obligatory church parades. On the declaration of war in 1914, scout headquarters placed instructions to boy scouts under the 'naval and military notices' in the *Brisbane Courier*.<sup>48</sup>

This display of militarism and autocracy appeared to be one method of combating the army cadet system introduced in 1911. Besides, it assuaged the concern of Queensland society, unused to boys being encouraged to exhibit initiative when participating in outdoor adventurous activities, such as those recommended by Baden-Powell.<sup>49</sup> Although in 1919, Baden-Powell disapproved of Queensland's regulations, his criticism had little effect on the organization of boy scouting in this State.<sup>50</sup>

Following the Great War, a re-organization of the Sherwood scouts occurred. They met as a troop rather than in separate patrols or small groups. Membership consisted of twenty scouts plus several wolf cubs, initially known as junior scouts. The adult supporters committee comprised the three local protestant clergy, the Sherwood primary school headteacher, and prominent Corinda resident, Thomas Hall, who served as President.<sup>51</sup> Members of this committee later acted as administrators of the scout movement in

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<sup>47</sup> Minutes, inaugural meeting, 7 September 1909, Australian League of Boy Scouts, Queensland Section, archives, Scout Association of Australia, Queensland Branch.

<sup>48</sup> Photographs, staff orders, regulations, archives, Scout Association of Australia, Queensland Branch, Brisbane; Baden Powell Scout Museum, Samford; *Brisbane Courier*, 10 August 1914, p.2.

<sup>49</sup> R. Fones, *In the Light of All the Years. A History of Scouting in Queensland*. (Brisbane: Scout Association of Australia, Queensland Branch, 1992), p.27.

<sup>50</sup> L. Slaughter, *Baden-Powell: Boy Scout Centenary-Jubilee, 1857-1907-1957*. (Brisbane: The Boy Scouts Association, Queensland Branch, 1957), p.62.

<sup>51</sup> Membership and photograph, Sherwood scouts and cubs in *Sherwood Shire, Agricultural, Horticultural and Industrial Society, Souvenir Catalogue*, first annual show, 1921, p.82.



Queensland, with Thomas Hall, President; J. Edgar Young, secretary; and James Moffatt, treasurer.<sup>52</sup>

During the early 1920s, the militaristic influence increased in the Sherwood scout troop when a former army major, Manor Charles Trotter, accepted appointment as scoutmaster. Although a Sherwood scout in using his initiative saved a life, thereby revealing how he had benefited from his scout training, Trotter's appointment followed concern by the adult supporter's committee regarding the undesirable behaviour of some members of the scout troop. The offenders had indulged in rowdiness, stoning of the roofs of houses, petty theft and trespassing.<sup>53</sup> Such behaviour, unbecoming a scout, did not exemplify the ideal of self-discipline. As the boys in Sherwood troop demonstrated, self-discipline, commendable in a young person, developed slowly, and tended to produce periods of less commendable behaviour, especially amongst those who considered scouting a recreational activity of fun and adventure. Consequently, Sherwood supporters, reflecting the attitudes of the administrators of the Scout movement in Queensland, hesitated to persevere with this ideal. They preferred an enforced style of discipline which maintained stability and curbed irresponsible behaviour.

Between 1891 and 1920, attendance at primary school, and from 1910, membership of the boy scouts, formed part of the lifestyle of children resident in the suburbanized portion of the Sherwood Shire. Both institutions focused on educating the young in character formation, with each institution revealing its own form of pedagogy. Children compelled to regularly attend school, endured at least three years moral instruction as part of their character training. Although by 1910 this included a few hours a week religious instruction, moral instruction during this thirty year period relied mainly on the education department's traditional resources. Lessons derived from school readers, five days a week, ten months a year, had the greatest effect on character formation. With moral instruction focusing on acceptance rather than encouraging pupils to question or think for themselves, school readers, together with the influence of teachers with lengthy service at the one school, reinforced support for the stabilising elements of society at the time. Boy scouts, which

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<sup>52</sup> Membership records, archives, Scout Association of Australia, Queensland Branch.

<sup>53</sup> Minutes, Sherwood boy scouts, 1921-27; Staff orders, archives, Scout Association of Australia, Queensland Branch.

filled part of a boy's leisure hours was ideally less restrictive, with Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* the basis for instruction. Notwithstanding, young scouts slow to submit themselves to a moral code of behaviour, ultimately experienced discipline of a military nature, not unlike that of primary schooling. But, of the two institutions, school education which included girls as well as boys, reached a larger number of children for lengthier periods than boy scouts\*, and therefore exerted a greater influence on the young people of the shire.

The ideals of both primary school education and boy scouts were imported from Britain, with many traditions maintained. The culture of British forbears was apparent in ritual, custom, 'obedience and respect for authority'.<sup>54</sup> Primary school education, especially, endendered an element of fear: fear of community reaction to unacceptable behaviour. This partly revealed why the young supported without question the restrictive attitudes imposed by educational influences within the shire. Such conforming behaviour was reinforced by succeeding generations, when the young of the 1890s and early 1900s reached adulthood, married, and commenced to raise their own families. Despite the continuing effect of primary school education, religion, already familiar to young members of the family as part of the school curriculum and scout activities, played an even greater role as a stabilising influence on the whole family.

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\* Girl Guides were not established in the shire until 1925.

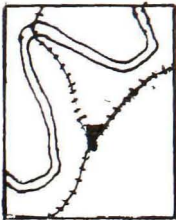
<sup>54</sup> For school education, see R.J.W. Selleck, 'State Education and Culture', in S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith eds., *Australian Cultural History*, p.79.



Map 21

LOCATION of MORAL INFLUENCES (churches,schools,lodges),

SHERWOOD - CORINDA, 1870-1924.



LEGEND

- |                        |                |                       |
|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| Boundaries: shire. --- | Hills: crests. | Roads: main.          |
| Bridges:               | Quarry:        | Streams: perennial.   |
| Contours:              | Railway line:  | Seasonal.             |
|                        | with station.  | Streets: constructed. |
|                        |                | Future.               |
|                        |                | Swamps: perennial.    |
|                        |                | Seasonal.             |

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|--|--|
| 1. St. Matthew's Church of England and cemetery, 1870.                                 | 3. St. Joseph's Roman Catholic church, 1912.                               |
| 2. Presbyterian church and cemetery, 1889.   | 9. St. Joseph's convent, c. 1917.  |
| 3. Wesleyan/Methodist church 1887-1914; Hopeful Masonic Lodge, 1914.                   | 10. Sherwood primary school, 1887.   |
| 4. Methodist church, 1914.   | 11. Orange Lodge Hall, 1876; new building, 1883.                           |
| 5. Methodist Sunday school, 1918.  | 12. Sherwood railway station, 1874.  |
| 6. St. Matthew's parish hall, 1915; Rechabites Lodge, 1920. Sherwood boy scouts, 1920. | 13. Ipswich-Brisbane railway, 1874.  |
| 7. St. Matthew's Church of England, 1924.  | 14. South Brisbane railway, 1884.  |
|  | 15. Corinda railway station, 1888; formerly South Brisbane Junction, 1884. |

Sources for charting contours: Map, Ipswich one mile series, no. 192, zone 3, 2nd edition 1950; Brisbane road map, 1974.

CHAPTER 6 MORAL INFLUENCES: RELIGION

Religion, having supported and sustained those early settlers of the Sherwood Shire who experienced the insecure and isolated conditions of a pioneering lifestyle, now assumed the role of removing the detrimental effects of an urban environment. With the Roman Catholic minority unable to attract locally appointed clergy, protestant churches led by dedicated and experienced resident clergy were an influential force within the suburbs of the shire. While the Reverend John Pollock tended to exercise his right of free speech regarding contentious issues, he and other protestant clergy supported temperance and prohibition. In strengthening the role of the family, religion became the most effective moral influence in the shire during the 1890s and early 1900s.

Some Sherwood Shire residents preferred to attend churches in the inner city. Nonetheless, by the 1890s, due to the presence of three active congregations, the suburb of Sherwood had become the religious focus of most protestants domiciled in the shire's residential estates. The congregations included Presbyterian, established in 1865, St Matthew's Church of England in 1868 and Wesleyan in 1886. By the early 1900s resident clergy served all three. During the 1890s, Roman Catholics were a minority in the local area. They had not been among the original landowners of the shire, and even after 1900, primary school annual returns recorded a low number of Roman Catholic families residing near Sherwood and Oxley schools.

Table 15

Religious affiliation of families with children attending Sherwood and Oxley State primary schools, 1895-1910.

	1895		1900		1910	
Denominations	Families	Children	Families	Children	Families	Children
Church of England	47	108	50	117	61	108
Roman Catholic	9	20	16	36	18	37
Presbyterian	21	41	35	87	19	37
Methodist	-	-	21	52	22	39
Other denominations	25*	51*	4	7	2	4

\* Methodists probably included in this figure.  
N.B. The above figures are only for families sending children to school.  
Source: Annual returns, 1895-1910, Sherwood school, QSA, EDU/AB78, Oxley school, QSA, EDU/AB79.



Roman Catholics did not increase appreciably in the Sherwood Shire until after the erection of the small St. Joseph's church at Corinda in 1912. This church, initially part of the Goodna parish, was attached to the Annerley parish in 1918. Another five years elapsed before the formation of the Corinda parish in 1923 and the appointment of Father Pat Murphy as the first parish priest.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the supposition that Irish migrants were recalcitrant and trouble makers, Murphy presided over a conservative congregation of Irish extraction.

With Roman Catholics less of a force during the 1890s and early 1900s, protestant churches ministered by resident clergy constituted the strongest religious influence in the suburbanized portion of the shire. Unlike the inflexible teaching methods employed in government schools, the customs and ministry of each protestant church varied. Although committed to a particular religious doctrine, incumbent clergy often influenced the character of local congregations. The background and ministry of resident clergy serving the Sherwood Shire revealed both the diversive nature of this influence and the manner in which it encouraged conformity.

St. Matthew's Church of England and the Sherwood Presbyterian Church benefited from the influence of long serving clergy. As indicated in Table 15, page 187, Church of England adherents outnumbered other denominations. Their presence had been strengthened in 1876 by the appointment of a resident minister, James Hassall, almost ten years before the arrival of John Stewart Pollock in 1885, as the first resident minister of the newly established Sherwood Presbyterian charge. Hassall and Pollock served the local area as residential suburbs gradually replaced agricultural holdings in the northern part of the Sherwood Shire. But unlike Hassall, who in 1899, retired in his mid-seventies, the younger Pollock continued his ministry into the early 1900s with active support for social issues important to his congregation and the Presbyterian Church generally.

Hassall's decision to join the clergy was influenced by family involvement in the church in New South Wales. His father, Thomas, served as Samuel Marsden's curate at St. John's Church of England, Parramatta, from 1822 to 1824, during which time he married

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<sup>1</sup> *Joseph's Jottings*, No.1, March 1983, No. 2, April 1983.

Marsden's daughter, Ann.<sup>2</sup> James Hassall acquired a knowledge of lengthy service in large parishes, when his father, the first of the bush parsons, ministered for fifteen years the Cowpastures parish which extended from Goulburn to the Illawarra district.<sup>3</sup>

James Hassall trained for three years at St. James' Church of England Theological College founded in 1845 by William Broughton, Bishop of New South Wales.<sup>4</sup> Broughton had attended Pembroke College, Cambridge, when it still demanded due submission from undergraduates.<sup>5</sup> At St. James, Broughton directly influenced trainees by teaching religious doctrine. After analysing their weekly sermons, he lectured them on what James Hassall described as 'profitable subjects' beneficial to future clergy.<sup>6</sup> Unlike clergy sent from England, trainees graduating from St. James benefited from 'living and learning in the environment' in which they had to work.<sup>7</sup> Ordained in 1828 at the age of twenty five, Hassall like his father, preferred bush parishes. Prior to his appointment at St. Matthew's, Sherwood, he served the Berrima parish. In addition to improving conditions at Berrima gaol, he was successful in preventing a prison rebellion.<sup>8</sup>

While Hassall's ministry in the Sherwood parish benefited from his background and previous experience as a clergyman, Pollock's service within his charge was influenced by the nature of Presbyterian Church government and the type of training he received. In 1863, the union of Presbyterian churches in Queensland re-affirmed the traditional belief of Presbyterians, 'that there was no King of the church on earth'. The King and Head of the

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<sup>2</sup> Neil Gunson, 'Thomas Hassall, (1794-1868)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.1, 1788-1850, A-H. A.G.L. Shaw, C.M.H. Clark, eds. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, reprint 1977), pp.522-523.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> J.S. Hassall, *In Old Australia*, facsimile reprint. (North Sydney: Library History of Australia, 1977), p.62.

<sup>5</sup> G.P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot, William Grant Broughton, 1788-1853*. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press), 1978, p.5.

<sup>6</sup> Hassall, *Old Australia*, p.64.

<sup>7</sup> Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, p.187.

<sup>8</sup> Hassall, *Old Australia*, pp.100-103.



church was Jesus Christ, with the kirk his only earthly representative.<sup>9</sup> Both clergy and laity ministered the kirk in each charge. Although each charge could elect its own clergy, such action had to be approved by the presbytery. This jurisdictional body, consisting of clergy and laity elected from charges from within a designated district, could also dismiss or suspend clergy. All charges were represented by both clergy and laity at the Synod and Annual General Assembly, which formulated policy for the Presbyterian Church in Queensland, and acted on disagreements and appeals against suspension.<sup>10</sup>

In 1885, with the approval of the Brisbane Presbytery, the Sherwood congregation chose John Pollock as their first resident minister. Pollock had attended the Divinity Hall, a training college for prospective clergy, established in 1876 by the Presbyterian Church of Queensland.<sup>11</sup> Compared with Hassall's three years at St. James, Pollock's training lasted only six weeks.<sup>12</sup> Still, most Presbyterian divinity halls in colonial Australia offered more than basic theological training.<sup>13</sup> Queensland's broad curriculum focused on Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Mathematics and the liberal arts.<sup>14</sup> As training eventually extended over five years, six weeks training appeared insufficient to equip potential clergy with the expertise to cope with unfamiliar and unexpected problems within a charge. Besides, it was probably too short a period to remove from the minds of people like Pollock, independent or progressive thinking. Following his ordination in 1877, Pollock served in country charges at Goodiwindi, Gladstone, and Esk.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Rev. R. Bardon, *The Centenary History of the Presbyterian Church in Queensland*. (Brisbane: The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1949), p.203.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*; Presbyterian Church of Australia, *Rules and forms of procedure, Queensland*, 1908, pp. 63,73.

<sup>11</sup> Bardon, *Presbyterian Church Centenary*, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>12</sup> Rev. Alexander Hay, *Jubilee Memorial, Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1849-1899*. (Brisbane: Alex Muir, 1900), p.136.

<sup>13</sup> Malcolm Prentiss, 'Presbyterian Ministry, 1822-1900', *Journal of Religious History*, vol.13, no.1, June 1984, p.64.

<sup>14</sup> Hay, *Jubilee Memorial Presbyterian Church*, p.124.

<sup>15</sup> Bardon, *Presbyterian Church Centenary*, p.275.

Programme of Studies  
Training of Ministers.

Divinity Hall, Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1890s.

PROGRAMME OF STUDIES.

EXAMINERS.	FIRST YEAR.	SECOND YEAR.	THIRD YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.	FIFTH YEAR.
REV. C. McCULLOCH.	Theology—Bible Knowledge.	Theology (Systematic) — The Subordinate Standards.	Theology (Systematic) — Anthropology.	Theology (Systematic) — Soteriology and Apologetics.	Theology (Systematic) — Eschatology, <i>Hermeneutics and Homiletics</i> .
REV. C. OGG	Church History — Century I.	Church History—Century I.—III.	Church History to the Reformation.	Church History—The period of the Reformation.	Church History, with special reference to Doctrine.
REV. A. HAY, M.A.	—	—	Hebrew—Elementary Grammar, including the Regular Verb.	Hebrew—Advanced Grammar, including all the forms of the verb, with Gen. i.—x., and Ps i.—xx.	Hebrew—Grammar, including Syntax, with one of the large historical books and Psalms i.—xx.
REV. A. HAY, M.A.	Greek—The Grammar and one prose author.	Greek—The Grammar, easy prose composition, and one prose and one poetical author.	Greek—The Grammar, advanced prose composition, and one prose and one poetical author.	Greek—The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.	Greek—The New Testament <i>ad aperturam libri</i> .
REV. J. F. McSWAINE.	Latin—The Grammar and one prose author.	Latin — The Grammar, prose composition, and one prose and one poetical author.	Latin—The Grammar, advanced prose composition, and one prose and one poetical author.	Latin—Calvini Institutio, one book.	Latin— Calvini Institutio, one book.
REV. A. HAY, M.A.	—	—	Biblical Literature — The History of the English Bible.	Biblical Literature—Introduction to the Old and New Testaments, including the History of the Creation.	Biblical Literature—Criticism, specially of the New Testament.
REV. D. F. MITCHELL.	—	Logic and Metaphysics.	Metaphysics, Logic and Metaphysics.	Moral Philosophy.	—
REV. J. F. McSWAINE.	English Language and Grammar.	English Language and Grammar.	English Language and Literature.	English Language and Literature.	—
REV. C. OGG.	Mathematics—Geometry, Euclid I. and II., Arithmetic to Decimal Fractions, and Algebra to Fractions.	Mathematics — Geometry, Euclid I. and IV., Arithmetic generally, Algebra to Simple Equations.	Mathematics — Geometry, Euclid, with Elementary Trigonometry or Natural Philosophy.	—	—

(Rev. Alexander Hay, Jubilee Memorial Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1849–1899. Brisbane: Alex Muir, 1900, p.169.)



Hassall and Pollock on their appointment to Sherwood, each ministered areas which extended beyond the Sherwood Shire. By the mid-1890s, Hassall's parish included Anglicans in the Stephens and Yeerongpilly Shires, where the majority of adherents were agriculturalists.<sup>16</sup> Pollock's charge initially extended to Coopers Plains to the east and Redbank to the south. From 1896 in addition to Sherwood, he ministered the vacant Kenmore charge situated to the north-west in the Indooroopilly Shire. Subsequently in 1899, Sherwood and Kenmore charges were combined.<sup>17</sup> (Map 22, p.193)

Several of the 51 marriages and 121 baptisms which Hassall performed in the early 1890s, occurred during visits on horseback to isolated families in his predominantly bush parish. By 1899, there were 91 communicants in the Sherwood parish. Sunday school enrolments, 40 in 1890, had risen to 125 by the end of the decade.<sup>18</sup> In 1893, a timber structure replaced the original stone Church of St. Matthew erected at Sherwood in 1870. The construction of a new church delayed the erection of a Sunday school building and a parish hall until the early 1900s.<sup>19</sup> Hassall's sound financial circumstances probably saved the expense of a parsonage. He constructed two homes. After occupying 'Lynne-Grove House' from 1880 to 1883, he then moved to 'Matavi' where he resided until 1904.<sup>20</sup> Both homes overlooked the Oxley Creek at Corinda.

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<sup>16</sup> Reports, St. Matthew's, Sherwood, in the *Church Chronicle*, 1899-1900; parochial information, *Church of England Year Books*, 1890-1900, Anglican archives, Brisbane Diocese.

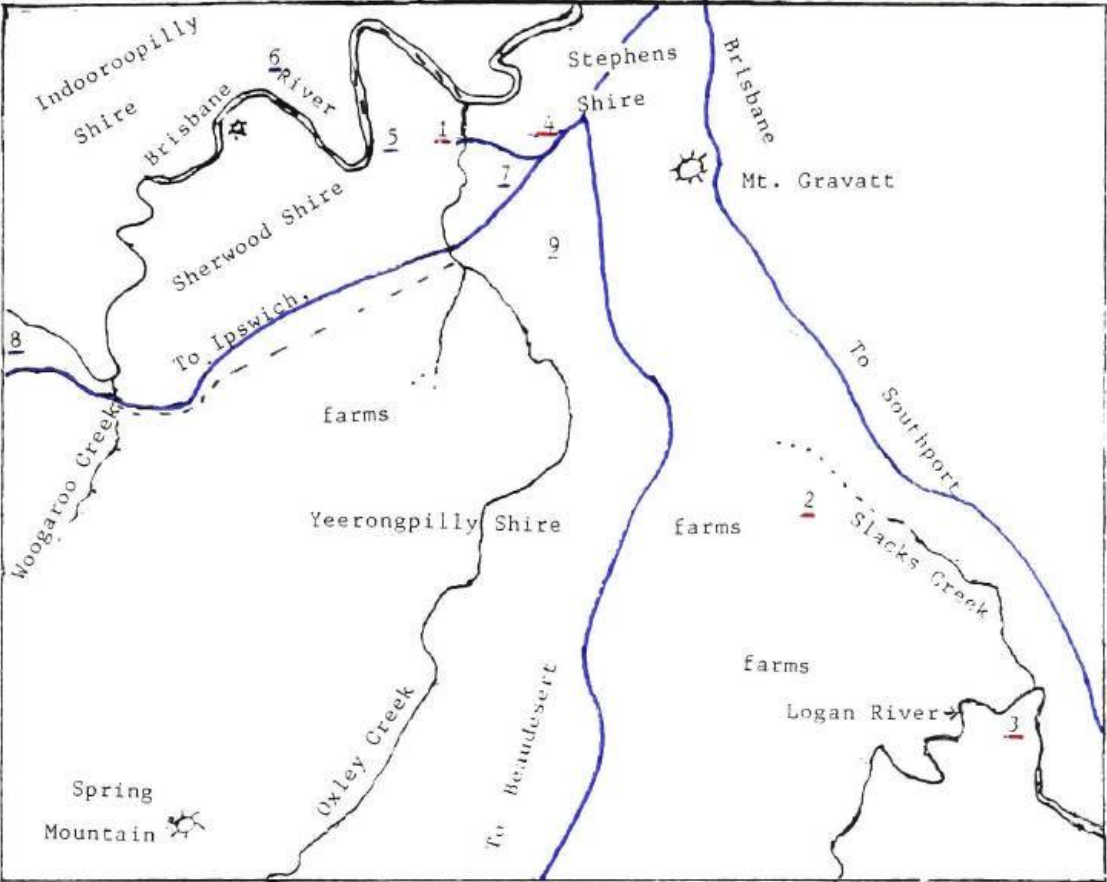
<sup>17</sup> Minutes, kirk session, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 26 June 1885, 11 October 1896, 15 May 1899, John Oxley Library.

<sup>18</sup> Parochial information, St. Matthew's, Sherwood, in *Church of England Year Books*, 1890-1900.

<sup>19</sup> Reports, St. Matthew's, Sherwood, *Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1907, 2 March 1915.

<sup>20</sup> C.V. Abrahams, ed., *Sherwood District Centenary Celebrations, 1867-1967*. (Sherwood, Q.: Sherwood District Weekly, 1967), p.70; Hassall, *Old Australia*, biographical note and preface.

Map 22  
PASTORAL AREAS OUTSIDE THE SHERWOOD SHIRE,  
MINISTERED BY JAMES HASSALL AND JOHN POLLOCK.



Hassall's parish | Pollock's charge

- |                 |                    |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Sherwood     | 5. Sherwood        |
| 2. Slacks Creek | 6. Kenmore         |
| 3. Logan River  | 7. Rocklea         |
| 4. Moorooka     | 8. Redbank         |
|                 | 9. Cooper's Plains |

Note, 1 and 5 are churches within the Sherwood Shire.

- main roads      —————
- rivers            ~~~~~
- creeks           ~~~~~
- mountain crests    ⚙
- Sherwood Shire boundary    - - - - -

Source: Reports, St. Matthew's, Sherwood in The Church Chronicle, 1890-1899; minutes of the kirk session and congregation meetings, Sherwood Presbyterian church, 1885-1912.



From the late 1880s, suburban residents domiciled in the Sherwood and Corinda area, gradually replaced agriculturalists as lay supporters of St. Matthew's church.<sup>21</sup> With Hassall firmly entrenched in the parish, and no doubt benefiting from his previous experience in rural townships, the integration of these newer residents into the local congregation occurred without any apparent disharmony.

Hassall retired in 1899 at the age of seventy five, 'beloved by all his parishoners and the community generally'. In 1904, he was called to rest, 'like a shock of corn fully ripe', an indirect reference to the mainly agricultural parish in which he laboured for twenty three years.<sup>22</sup>

From 1885, John Pollock, on receiving the right hand of fellowship from his Presbyterian congregation, complemented Sunday attendance at kirk by introducing bible classes and prayer meetings at Sherwood, Rocklea, Seventeen Mile Rocks, Goodna and Redbank. Furthermore, he removed from the communicants roll infrequent attenders on communion Sunday.<sup>23</sup>

The Sherwood charge was administered by three committees. An executive body, the kirk session, comprised the minister, with four to six elders elected by the communicants. The church management committee included members of the kirk session, plus several other members also elected by the communicants. In addition, the congregation constituted a committee of the whole.<sup>24</sup> Before the appointment of Pollock as resident minister, the laity, mostly agriculturalists, had exerted a powerful influence on the administration of the Sherwood church. By 1885, similar to St. Matthew's parish, the membership of the Sherwood Presbyterian charge now consisted of suburban residents. But unlike Hassall who

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<sup>21</sup> Parochial information, St. Matthew's, Sherwood, *Church of England Year Books*, 1890-1900.

<sup>22</sup> Profile, Rev. James Hassall, in *Sherwood Shire Agricultural, Horticultural and Industrial Society, Souvenir Catalogue*, first annual show, 1921, p.53.

<sup>23</sup> Minutes of the kirk session, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 1885-1889; Presbyterian Church of Australia, *Rules and forms of procedure*, Queensland, 1908.

<sup>24</sup> Structure of Sherwood Presbyterian Church government revealed in kirk session, management committee and congregation minutes, 1890-1920.

had been appointed prior to the appearance of these newer residents, Pollock's appointment coincided with their arrival. Consequently, disagreements which arose before he had firmly established himself as minister, were less easily resolved.

Fully utilizing the Presbyterian form of church management, Pollock and his congregation planned the erection of a new church building costing £775. In early 1889, a dispute occurred when Pollock and most of the building committee approved extensions to the proposed new church building. It appeared the committee intended to finance the extensions from the sale of the Presbyterian church hall at Rocklea. The majority of the congregation favoured the extension and supported Pollock's uncompromising attitude towards those members of the Sherwood church who disagreed with the committee's decision. Several who opposed the decision were agriculturalists, including John Moffatt, the building committee chairman.<sup>25</sup> Despite attempts by the Brisbane Presbytery to effect a peaceful settlement, the agriculturalists resigned and eventually joined the newly established Sherwood Wesleyan Church.<sup>26</sup>

Still, dissension continued. During the industrial disputes of the early 1890s, most protestant clergy in Brisbane maintained their silence, 'sheltering behind the general declarations of their denominations', usually supportive of government action against strikers.<sup>27</sup> Such an attitude reflected their reaction to the Maritime Strike of 1890. This strike expanded from an initial dispute between ship's officers and shipping management to shearers in conflict with pastoralists over the shipping of wool. In what appeared a lone response from protestant clergy, Pollock commended Roman Catholic clergy on their offer to mediate between the opposing factions. In a letter to *The Worker* newspaper he probably aggravated many Presbyterians, especially the clergy who had remained silent during the strike, by declaring that,

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<sup>25</sup> Minutes of the kirk session, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 5 August 1889; minutes, new church building committee, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 7 Jan. 1889, 11 Feb. 1889; minutes, congregation meeting, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 23 July 1889.

<sup>26</sup> Minutes, kirk session, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 5 August 1889, 17 September 1889, 16 December 1889.

<sup>27</sup> Ronald Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*. (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1973), p.296.



ministers of the gospel should be men having the courage of their convictions, and be ready to meet with the contempt it deserves, the mean threat or craven counsel, 'Take care what you say or you'll get into trouble'. Advice, ... likely to be taken by those who make the first object in life to have a good time of it.<sup>28</sup>

By 1893, reaction to Pollock's attitude led to further dissension, with several of the congregation abstaining from church attendance. During enquiries conducted by the Brisbane Presbytery into disagreements within the charge, the Sherwood elders supported Pollock. They considered him 'an earnest and devoted Christian minister', and that 'misunderstandings arose, ... not from want of Christian charity and tolerance', but because he unflinchingly discharged his duty.<sup>29</sup> The elders admitted that outside the charge, Pollock was not inclined to relinquish his right of 'freedom of speech'.<sup>30</sup> After deliberating, the Brisbane Presbytery suspended Pollock. Elders from the kirk session again supported Pollock when he appealed to the Presbyterian General Assembly. Although the General Assembly commended the Brisbane Presbytery for endeavouring to settle the issue, they reinstated Pollock to the Sherwood charge.<sup>31</sup> Pollock continued to express his personal views in the press or at public meetings, rather than from the pulpit, which he considered in one sense a 'coward's castle', as it allowed little opportunity for reply.<sup>32</sup>

Still, during the eighteen years following his reinstatement, Pollock's ministry revealed those 'earnest and devoted Christian qualities' ascribed to him by his supporters.<sup>33</sup> During 1893, the effect of both the flood and the economic recession had lowered the morale of the Sherwood congregation, but by the mid-1890s, Pollock's dedicated service

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<sup>28</sup> J.S. Pollock, letter to *The Worker* mailbag, 18 Oct. 1890, p.3; Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, p.296.

<sup>29</sup> Details of a petition forwarded to the Brisbane Presbytery, prior to May 1893, and recorded in the minutes of the kirk session, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 24 May 1893.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> 4th and 5th siderunt, in *Minutes of Proceedings of the Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, 4 May 1893, pp. 17-18.

<sup>32</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 1 March 1912, p.6.

<sup>33</sup> Minutes, kirk session, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 24 May 1893.

gradually restored confidence within the Sherwood charge.<sup>34</sup> Elder, Jos. Carson, who had financially assisted the construction of the new church building by providing a £300 loan, now converted this loan to an outright donation, thus rendering the building free of debt.<sup>35</sup>

As Pollock ministered to the combined charges of Sherwood and Kenmore between 1899 and 1911, he remained dedicated. During this period the number of communicants rose, complemented in 1900 and 1905 by a rise in Sunday school enrolments. In ministering to the two charges, Pollock increased the number of Sunday services. In addition to the morning and evening service he instituted an afternoon service.<sup>36</sup> He conducted most of these services himself.

**Table 16**

**Ministry, church attendance and membership, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 1893-1910.**

	1893	1897	1900	1905#	1910#
No. of Sunday services	52*	104*	156	147	156
Av. attendance					
morning	75	60	50	60	60
afternoon	-	-	+	+	30
evening	-	50	30	60	60
Communicants	48	79	95	102	123
Sunday school	55	88	114	103	78

\* Approximate figures.

# Sherwood/Kenmore charge.

+ Figures not recorded.

Between 1905 and 1910, mid-week services were held fortnightly at Sherwood, with an average attendance of twenty.

Source: 'Statistics', Sherwood Presbyterian Church, appendices to *Proceedings, Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, 1894-1911.

<sup>34</sup> Minutes, congregation meeting, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 21 Feb. 1894.

<sup>35</sup> Minutes, kirk session, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 7 Nov. 1893; minutes, congregation meeting, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 21 Feb. 1894.

<sup>36</sup> 'Statistics', Sherwood Presbyterian Church, appendices, *Proceedings, Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, 1899-1912.



In 1897, in addition to Sunday school, other activities for young people at the Sherwood Presbyterian Church included the Band of Hope whose membership numbered 35, and Christian Endeavour which attracted 22 supporters.<sup>37</sup> By 1910, the 100 strong temperance society of the combined Sherwood/Kenmore charge, comprised adults as well as young people.<sup>38</sup>

Rather than confine himself to pastoral duties, Pollock broadened his role within the church. After serving as Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1896, he focused his attention on social issues sanctioned by the Presbyterian Church in Queensland. When engaged in this work, clergy continued to serve their charges, thus maintaining contact with the grass roots of the church, as many issues concerned the congregations. As chairman of the Presbyterian General Assembly's moral and public questions committee, Pollock focused on reforms vital to the preservation of the family unit, such as tighter divorce laws, gambling, indecent advertising, temperance and the protection of infant life. Other issues on which Pollock concentrated included strict sabbath day observance and the introduction of religious instruction in State schools.<sup>39</sup> These reforms and social issues would have attracted support from both middle and lower class members of his congregation. Old age pensions, another reform he pursued would have drawn support from the less affluent within his charge.

Throughout the 1890s, with the Presbyterian Church the main campaigner, Pollock battled to restore Sabbath day observance, a practice which urbanization had effectively eroded. He considered it the duty of the church

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<sup>37</sup> 'Statistics', Sherwood Presbyterian Church, *Proceedings, Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, 1898, pp. 64-65.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, 1911, pp.74-78.

<sup>39</sup> J.S. Pollock, reports in *Proceedings, Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, 1903, p.45, 1905, p.58, 1906, p.61; J.S. Pollock, reports as convenor of several committees included in appendices of *Proceedings of Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1890-1912*.

to protest against Sabbath desecration and give expression to her faith that the Sabbath is of Divine and perpetual obligation.<sup>40</sup>

In contrast, many of Brisbane's working class, with Sunday their only day free from toil, were not disposed 'to devote it to melancholy religiosity'.<sup>41</sup> By 1905, Pollock supported by members of other protestant churches, had unsuccessfully campaigned against several Sabbath day breaches, including 'the crying of newspapers', Sunday concerts, village fairs, the introduction of cheap rail fares to induce patronage, and the use of the government steamer, 'Lucinda', for pleasure trips. When journeying to conduct the Sunday service at Kenmore, Pollock manned the ferry at Chelmer himself, rather than 'have another man work for him on the Sabbath'.<sup>42</sup>

During the early 1900s, Pollock, now suffering ill health, continued to concentrate on temperance issues, which the State Government was reluctant to positively address, especially as it had unofficially sanctioned Sunday hotel trading, a deliberate infringement of the Licensing Act of 1885.<sup>43</sup> Although several Presbyterian churches including the congregation at Sherwood supported a temperance society, Pollock admitted to the Royal Commission on Liquor in 1900, that not all Presbyterians were teetotalers. Even so, he considered that Presbyterians who drank alcohol would still continue 'to promote sobriety' within the community not only on Sundays, but at all times.<sup>44</sup>

The passing of the Liquor Act of 1912 again prohibited Sunday trading, and allowed

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<sup>40</sup> J.S. Pollock, report, Sabbath Day Observance Committee, *Proceedings, Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, 1891, pp.66-67.

<sup>41</sup> Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, p.280.

<sup>42</sup> J.S. Pollock, reports as member and convenor, Public Questions and Morals Committee, *Proceedings, Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, 1903, pp.48-50, 1904, pp. 48, 57, 1905, p.58; Rowellan Ramsay, comp., *Centenary History, Sherwood Presbyterian Church*, (Brisbane: 1965), unpagged.

<sup>43</sup> Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, pp.236, 283.

<sup>44</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Liquor*, 1901, J.S. Pollock's evidence, 24 Sept. 1900, pp.1030-1031, items 32975-32980.



prohibition orders to be issued against alcoholics.<sup>45</sup> Still, several protestant churches continued to campaign for the prohibition of liquor to all the public. Influenced by the congregations of the three protestant churches located at Sherwood, public opinion within the Sherwood Shire ensured that hotel ownership remained confined to Oxley, with the suburbs from Corinda to Chelmer free from any establishment which sold alcohol.

In 1906, following persistent support by Pollock for aged pensions, the Presbyterian General Assembly adopted his resolution which recognized the duty of all Christian communities to care for the poor. The resolution expressed the hope

that legislation would soon be affected by which an old age pension will be as a matter of right, secured for those who, being citizens of good character, are, through age, infirmity, and want of means, no longer able to maintain themselves.<sup>46</sup>

The Old Age Pensions Act passed by the Queensland parliament in 1908, embodied much of the spirit of Pollock's resolution.

In 1910, during the referendum campaign for religious instruction in State schools, Pollock spoke at public meetings favouring its introduction. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in supporting religious instruction, recommended that Presbyterians in Queensland resort to political means to ensure a favourable result in the referendum. Previously, the Bible in State Schools League when resorting to political action, had threatened to withdraw support for sitting members of parliament at the next election, if they opposed religious instruction in State schools. Such action appeared to be levelled at the Labor Party whose membership consisted of Roman Catholics opposed to religious instruction in State schools. Probably due to his Labor Party sympathies, Pollock appeared unsupportive of the Australian Presbyterian General Assembly's recommendation. Moreover, in a letter to the *Brisbane Courier*, he claimed that some Presbyterians who considered the recommendation obligatory, were of the opinion that those who thought otherwise must 'perforce do violence to their conscience', if they silently complied and did not resign from the Presbyterian Church. Rejecting this view, Pollock argued convincingly

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<sup>45</sup> Sections 76 and 81, Liquor Act of 1912, *Queensland Statutes*, VII, pp.5575-79.

<sup>46</sup> J.S. Pollock, resolution, minute 88, *Proceedings, Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, 1906, p.21.

that the recommendation was not binding on the membership, as it fell outside the obligatory elements of the covenant and constitution of the Presbyterian Church, and that resignation only applied to those who found these elements unacceptable.<sup>47</sup>

During the Brisbane General Strike of 1912, as Pollock increased his support for unionism and the Labor Party, he aggravated some middle class members of his congregation. The political aspects of his actions and his leanings towards socialism are discussed in the following chapter. Eventually, Pollock's political beliefs prejudiced his position within the Presbyterian Church and ultimately led to his resignation.<sup>48</sup>

During their arduous and lengthy service, James Hassall and John Pollock remained dedicated, with neither attempting to drastically change the outlook of their respective congregations. For Hassall, the influence of his family background and the effect of Broughton's tuition coincided with the conservative attitudes prevalent in the large rural parishes to which he ministered. Because of his experience as a clergyman, the invasion of suburban influences failed to destabilise relationships within the congregation at St. Matthew's as had occurred at the Sherwood Presbyterian Church.

Although Pollock was exposed to a broadly based curriculum during his brief training, lack of experience in ministering to urban-rural charges may have limited his capacity to alleviate dissension during his early years at Sherwood. Still, his dedication ultimately won the devoted support of his congregation. More so than Hassall, whose extensive parish prevented him from widening his interests within the Church of England, Pollock involved himself in social issues. Despite his outspokenness in relation to some industrial disputes, most issues supported by Pollock were approved by the Presbyterian Church and focused upon the retention of traditional values. Therefore, the conservatism displayed by the Sherwood Presbyterians probably exceeded that of the congregation at St. Matthew's Church of England.

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<sup>47</sup> *Proceedings, General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1907 p.34, 1909, p.30, *Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, 1909, p.24; minutes, Bible in State Schools League, 1907-1908; J.S. Pollock, letter to the editor, *Brisbane Courier*, 5 Jan. 1910, p.6.

<sup>48</sup> Bardon, *Presbyterian Church Centenary*, p.171; minutes, kirk session, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 14 April 1912.



Pollock's replacement, Samuel Martin, a Master of Arts, fulfilled the expectation of his conservative charge. More importantly, as an administrator of both the Brisbane Presbytery and the Queensland Synod, he fully subscribed to the conservatism inherent in these two entities. Subsequently, he served a lengthy term at Sherwood, from 1912 to 1923.<sup>49</sup> In contrast, during the early 1900s, St. Matthew's Church of England and the Sherwood Methodist Church experienced several changes of resident clergy, the reason for the frequent Church of England appointments, differing from that of the Methodists.

Following Hassall's retirement, parish funds at St. Matthew's dwindled, probably because of lack of interest within the congregation and the expense involved in the construction of a Sunday school building. The decrease in funds reduced the stipend paid to incumbent clergy. The stipend fell from £257 per annum in 1899 to £192 by 1911. Table 17 reveals that the amount in the stipend fund did not match stipend payments, and it is possible that part of the offertories subsidized the stipend paid to incumbent clergy.

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<sup>49</sup> Bardon, *Presbyterian Church Centenary*, p.274.

Table 17

Finances, St. Matthew's Church of England, Sherwood, 1890-1921

Annual report	Communicants	Income (nearest pound)				Expenditure (nearest pound)			Balance
		Offeratories	Stipend fund	Other income	Total income	Stipend payments	Other payments	Total expenditure	
1890	-	£99	£122	-	£221	£192	£31	£223	-£2
1900	91	£203	£115	£19	£337	£257	£81	£338	-£1
1911	210	£119	£110	£71	£300	£192	£103	£295	+£5
1921	210	£367	£69	£152	£588	£259	£315	£574	+£14

Source: Extracted from annual reports contained in parochial information, St. Matthew's church, Sherwood, in *Church of England Year Books*, 1890-1921.



Appeals for extra subscriptions failed to increase the stipend to the desired £250 per annum until 1920. Consequently, the parish was not eligible to elect parochial nominators, thus limiting its influence in the appointment of long term resident clergy.<sup>50</sup> Between 1900 and 1920, this resulted in the appointment of several clergy to St. Matthew's for terms of five years or less.

Between 1899 and 1920, four of the seven Church of England clergy succeeding Hassall had attended English universities. Three had obtained Masters degrees. Thomas Tatham, rector from 1899 to 1904, received his Masters degree from St. John's College, Cambridge. He migrated to Queensland, serving at St. Paul's, Cleveland from 1897 to 1899, returning to England following his term at Sherwood.<sup>51</sup> Algernon Brine, gained his Masters degree from St. John's College, Oxford. He served the Sherwood parish from 1915 to 1920. His successor George Green, studied for his Masters degree at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford.<sup>52</sup>

The conservatism associated with Hassall's image as the bush parson, now transferred itself to ideals representative of the high church. The university trained clergy, initially recruited by Bishop Webber of Brisbane, reinforced Anglo-Catholic principles<sup>53</sup> within a congregation comprising mainly suburban residents. While these principles appeared acceptable to the majority of St. Matthew's parishioners, the addition of 'silver candlesticks at the altar' and the wearing 'of special vestments' during the early 1920s, convinced some sceptics that St. Matthew's 'had taken the first step to Rome and perdition'.<sup>54</sup>

The Great War slowed development, but George Green, following his appointment to St. Matthew's in 1920, insisted on regular church attendance. Endeavouring to revitalize

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<sup>50</sup> Report, St. Matthew's, Sherwood, *Church Chronicle*, 1 Aug. 1908, p.18.

<sup>51</sup> Information on clergy in *Church Chronicle*, and Crockford's *Clerical Directory* for 1917-1918, forty-ninth issue.(London: Field and Queen, [Harold Cox], 1917), pp. 183, 612, 1486.

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Discussion with Patricia Ramsay, archivist, Anglican archives, Brisbane diocese, 1990.

<sup>54</sup> Bertha Cleminson, 'Recollections of church life, St. Matthew's, Sherwood', handwritten undated and unpagged account, archives, St. Matthew's Church, Sherwood



James Hassall  
(C.V. Abrahams, Sherwood  
Centenary, 1867-1967, p.15)



John Pollock  
(A. Hay, Presbyterian  
Jubilee, p.204)



Rector and wardens, St. Matthew's Sherwood, 1921.

A.H. Berry, Rev. George Green, W.H. Arnold.

(Queenslander, 26 November, 1921, p.41)



the local church, he wrote in the *Church Chronicle*:

There is a desire for some real movement in the parish. It needs it. Church support and service is not at all commensurate with the increase in population. We hope the desire for progress will soon be translated into actual fact.<sup>55</sup>

Green's desire for some real movement was soon translated into actual fact, as in 1921, fire destroyed St. Matthew's church. Parishioners as well as Sherwood Shire residents contributed financially to the construction of a new church, enabling the foundation stone to be laid within three years.<sup>56</sup> To add to the concern of the sceptics who feared the influence of Rome, the first donation came from the local Roman Catholic Church.<sup>57</sup>

In accordance with Methodist Church practice, the six resident ministers serving the Sherwood Methodist congregation between 1903 and 1920 were appointed for three year terms. Frequent appointments enabled Methodist clergy to acquire extensive experience, thereby increasing their effectiveness as ministers. Even so, frequent appointments placed greater responsibility on the laity to maintain continuity and provide the necessary support for the church to function efficiently. This practice often allowed one or two lay members to dominate the quarterly meetings of the local church, especially in the absence of a resident minister.

The opportunity to dominate probably appealed to the founders of the first Wesleyan Church in Sherwood, who had previously supported the local Presbyterian Church during the several years this church functioned without a resident minister. Indeed, in 1886, one year after Presbyterians chose John Pollock as their first resident minister, the foundation meeting of the Sherwood Wesleyan Church was held in the home of leading agriculturalist and Presbyterian, Thomas Johnston. At least three Presbyterians attended the meeting which comprised both agriculturalists and residents with urban occupations.<sup>58</sup> By 1887, Thomas

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<sup>55</sup> *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1920, p.153.

<sup>56</sup> Records, St. Matthew's Church, Sherwood, 1921.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid*; Cleminson, church life, St. Matthews, unpagd.

<sup>58</sup> R.S.C. Dingle, *Annals of Achievement, a Review of Queensland Methodism, 1884-1947*. (Brisbane: Queensland Book Depot, 1947), p.209.

Johnston had constructed a small timber church costing £120.<sup>59</sup> In 1889, several Presbyterians who had opposed extensions to the new Sherwood Presbyterian Church building, boosted the numbers of the newly formed Wesleyan congregation.<sup>60</sup>

The new Wesleyan church, initially attached to the South Brisbane circuit, functioned without a resident minister until the appointment of Isaac Castlehow in 1903. The church, then part of the West End circuit, was renamed the Sherwood Methodist Church, following the completion of the union of Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist Churches in Queensland in 1905.<sup>61</sup> In 1913, the Sherwood circuit was constituted, with William Brown as resident minister. For a brief period, the new circuit included within its ministry, the Methodist Church at Annerley situated in the Stephens Shire.<sup>62</sup>

Prior to their appointment, the majority of resident clergy who served the Sherwood Methodist Church had experienced at least twenty years circuit work, initially as ministers of either the Wesleyan Church or the Primitive Methodist Church.

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<sup>59</sup> Collyer and P. Byrnes, eds., *Sherwood School Centenary Souvenir History, 1867-1967*. (Sherwood, Q.: Publications Committee Sherwood State School and District Celebrations, 1967), p.28.

<sup>60</sup> Minutes, kirk session, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 16 Dec. 1889. The minutes list several agriculturalists grouped as Sherwood No. 2 Presbyterian Church attending services at the Toowong Presbyterian Church. Later, many of these later enrolled as members of the Sherwood Wesleyan Church.

<sup>61</sup> Dingle, *Annals of Achievement*, p.209; Sherwood Methodist Church records, 1905-1920, John Oxley Library.

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.*



Table 18

Previous service of clergy appointed to the Sherwood Methodist Church, 1903-1923.

Minister	Ordained	Sherwood appointment	Previous service
Isaac Castlehow #	1882	1903-06	Bundaberg, Nundah
William Little #	1883	1907-10	North Rockhampton, Ipswich, West End
Albert Taylor *	1894	1910-13	Pine Rivers, Barcaldine, Toowoomba
William Brown *	1885	1913-16	Mount Morgan, Pittsworth
William Dinning *	1878	1916-19	West End, Nundah, East End
Thomas Thurlow *	1889	1920-23	Townsville, Toowong, Nundah

# Former Primitive Methodists.

\* Former Wesleyans.

Source: List of ministers and preachers, *Minutes of Annual Wesleyan and Methodist Conferences*, 1881-1923.

While little evidence exists regarding the training of Primitive Methodist ministers, Wesleyan ministers during the 1880s usually served a probationary period of four years, followed by a further two years training at Newington College, Sydney. Rather than benefiting from a broad curriculum which Presbyterian ministers experienced as part of their training, Wesleyan ministers during this probationary period were examined mostly on theological works.<sup>63</sup>

Although the Methodist Church building at Sherwood had been enlarged, planning commenced in 1903 for a more substantial structure. Discussions continued throughout the terms of three resident ministers, with each providing the benefit of his experience. In 1913, the congregation decided to build. By 1914, local builder and Methodist, Walter Taylor, had erected a cement and brick structure costing £1109.<sup>64</sup> The congregation then comprised 87 adult members, with another nine at the former Primitive Methodist Church,

<sup>63</sup> *Minutes, 14th New South Wales/Queensland Conference, Australasian Wesleyan Church*, 1887, p.61.

<sup>64</sup> Collyer and Byrnes, *Sherwood State School Centenary*, p.28.

Text Books, Four Year Probationary Period  
for Wesleyan Ministers, 1887.

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*First Year of Probation.*

1. English Bible, Westcott's "History of English Bible." Introduction, Chapters i. and ii.—External History.
2. Greek Testament, Matthew v. to x. (Green's "New Testament Grammar.")
3. Wesley's Sermons, 1 to 15.
4. Systematic Theology, Pope's "Compendium," vol. I., pp. 1 to 330.
5. Ecclesiastical History, Smith's "Student's," pp. 1 to 100.
6. Evidences of Christianity, Redford's "Christian's Plea against Modern Unbelief," parts I. and II. (pp. 1 to 142.)
7. Reynold's "Supernatural in Nature," studies i. to v.
8. Hatch's "Organization of the Early Christian Church."

Note I.—Those Probationers who cannot obtain Westcott's "History of the English Bible," must substitute Dr. Stoughton's "Our English Bible" 1 to 148.

*Second Year of Probation.*

1. English Bible, Westcott's "History of the English Bible." Chapter iii. and conclusion :—Internal History.
2. Greek Testament, Luke v. to x. (Green's "New Testament Grammar.")
3. Wesley's Sermons, 16 to 33.
4. Systematic Theology, Pope's "Compendium," vol. I. page 230 to vol. II. page 139.
5. Ecclesiastical History, Smith's "Student's," pp. 101 to 285.
6. Evidences of Christianity, Redford's "Christian's Plea against Modern Unbelief," part iii., Chapters 1 to 6 (pp. 143 to 258.)
7. Reynold's "Supernatural in Nature," studies vi. to xiii.
8. Hebrew, Genesis xii. to xvii. (selected for English Probationers, Minutes 1884.)

Note I.—Those Probationers who cannot obtain Westcott's "History of the English Bible," must substitute Dr. Stoughton's "Our English Bible," pp. 149 to 304.

*Third Year of Probation.*

1. English Bible, Westcott's "Canon of the New Testament, First period (pp. 1 to 331.)
2. Greek Testament, John i. to v. (Green's "New Testament Grammar.")
3. Wesley's Sermons, 34 to 53.
4. Systematic Theology, Pope's "Compendium," vol. II. page 140 to end of vol. II.
5. Ecclesiastical History, Smith's "Student's," pp. 286 to 488.
6. Evidences of Christianity, Redford's "Christian's Plea against Modern Unbelief," part III. chapters 6 and 7 (pp. 259 to 360.)
7. Reynold's "Supernatural in Nature," studies xiv. to xviii.
8. Hebrew, Deuteronomy v. to x. (Selected for English Probationers Minutes 1884.)

*Fourth Year of Probation.*

1. English Bible, Westcott's "Canon of the New Testament, Second period (pp. 333 to end.)
2. Greek Testament, ii. Epistle Timothy (Green's "New Testament Grammar.")
3. Arthur's Fernley Lecture, "Physical and Moral Law."
4. Systematic Theology, Pope's "Compendium," whole of Vol. III.
5. Ecclesiastical History, Smith's "Student's," pp. 489 to end.
6. Evidences of Christianity, Redford's "Christian's Plea against Modern Unbelief," part III., chapters 8 to 10 (pp. 361 to end.)
7. Reynold's "Supernatural in Nature," Studies xix. to xxii.
8. Hebrew, Isaiah xl. to xlv. (selected for English Probationers—Minutes 1884.)

( Minutes, 14th New South Wales and  
Queensland Conference, Australasian  
Wesleyan Church, 1887, pp.64,65. )



Seventeen Mile Rocks, now part of the Sherwood circuit.<sup>65</sup> The circuit eventually included a congregation at Darra, sponsored by the Methodist home mission programme.<sup>66</sup> By 1920, the adult membership in the Sherwood circuit had reached 131.<sup>67</sup>

William Brown, resident minister during the construction of the new church, continued the expansion of Methodism in the Sherwood Shire, especially in relation to the younger generation. Prior to his appointment at Sherwood, Brown had administered the young people's department of the Methodist Church in Queensland which comprised Sunday schools, Christian Endeavour and the young people's guild. When at Sherwood, his enthusiasm for youth activities resulted in renewed interest in the Sunday school, whose membership rose from 91 in 1913 to 146 by June 1915, the attendance averaging 60% of enrolments. In 1915, he opened a Sunday school at Graceville with an enrolment of 36 members.<sup>68</sup> Later, Brown served as President of the Methodist Conference in Queensland, 'his opinions so dependable' that they were 'listened to with respect' and often 'determined the vote'.<sup>69</sup>

Methodists adopted a similar attitude to Presbyterians regarding temperance and moral issues. Thomas Thurlow prior to his appointment at Sherwood in 1920, had convened the temperance and public morals committee of the Methodist Church. Focusing on the family, he emphasized the need for 'systematic and vigorous training of the young as to the dangers of ... alcohol'. He urged that a pledge signing campaign be undertaken 'in the home, church and school'.<sup>70</sup>

Throughout the 1890s, Methodists had regularly demonstrated their concern for the

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<sup>65</sup> Membership roll, Sherwood Methodist Church, 1913-1919.

<sup>66</sup> Dingle, *Annals of Achievement*, p.210.

<sup>67</sup> 'Statistics', *Minutes, 20th Queensland Conference, Methodist Church of Australia*, 1921, p.44.

<sup>68</sup> Minutes, Sunday school teachers meeting, Sherwood Methodist Church, 1913-1915.

<sup>69</sup> Dingle, *Annals of Achievement*, p.112.

<sup>70</sup> Thomas Thurlow, report, 'Temperance and Morals Committee', *Minutes, 11th Queensland Conference, Methodist Church of Australia*, 1912, p.69.

young and the necessity for the retention of family values. William Dinning, minister at Sherwood from 1916 to 1919, served as President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of Queensland in 1900. He then exhorted delegates at the conference to

keep the altar fires of the family ever burning, or if they have been allowed to go out, hasten to rekindle them. ... Watch the literature (and) exercise careful oversight of (children's) hours of recreation.<sup>71</sup>

His uneasiness regarding the type of literature to which children could be exposed, coincided with the publication of *The Truth* newspaper in 1900, which provided intimate details of scandalous events.<sup>72</sup> In 1908, former Sherwood minister, Isaac Castlehow and Methodist conference secretary, Thomas Warham, informed the annual conference, that

vitally connected with the interests of the church are the interests of the home and family. ... The religion of Jesus of Nazareth develops and strengthens those sentiments and principles of love, purity, sacrifice, filial obedience and parental consideration, which lie at the very foundation of a true and worthy home life. Christian parents will not seek to evade the burden and responsibilities of their position. Christian sons and daughters will repay in obedience, consideration and honour to parents, something of the great debt they owe.<sup>73</sup>

During the early 1900s, frequent appointment of clergy appeared to reinforce the moderate attitudes of the congregations at St. Matthew's Church of England and the Sherwood Methodist Church. University trained clergy appointed to St. Matthew's upheld the conservatism of the high church which the majority of the congregation accepted. Support from the community following the destruction of the parish church demonstrated the high regard for St. Matthew's in the local area, and that St. Matthew's like other Anglican churches in Australia had a 'comfortable relationship with the established

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<sup>71</sup> Pastoral address, William Dinning, *Minutes, 8th Queensland Conference, Australian Wesleyan Church, 1900*, p.23.

<sup>72</sup> Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, p.293.

<sup>73</sup> Isaac Castlehow (president), T. Warham (secretary), pastoral address, *Minutes, 7th Queensland Conference, Methodist Church of Australia, 1908*, pp.21-22.



order'.<sup>74</sup> The Sherwood Methodist Church benefited from the regular appointment of experienced ministers. In advocating the retention of traditional values, these clergy exemplified the conservative ideals characteristic of the Methodist Church in Queensland.

All local clergy experienced regular contact with families as they performed marriages, baptisms and burials. In sparsely populated areas, Hassall encountered and ministered to the isolated family. Social issues pursued by Pollock, such as temperance, public morals and aged pensions were family orientated. Methodist ministers, like Isaac Castlehow, regularly expressed concern for the stability of the family in an urban environment. In the Sherwood Shire as in other areas of Brisbane, family involvement was essential to the life of the church as all clergy depended on family members as lay supporters. Similar to their status as head of the family, fathers occupied leading positions within the protestant churches at Sherwood. They served as wardens and parish councillors in St. Matthew's church, elders of the kirk session and members of the management committee in the Presbyterian Church, and office bearers of quarterly meetings at the Methodist Church.<sup>75</sup>

Initially, those participating were pioneering agriculturalists in the district. By the early 1890s, the majority were middle class with urban occupations. Many were associated with the shire council, school of arts, lodges and sporting organizations. Anglican supporters included Alan Spowers, Alexander Raff and Thomas Hall. Presbyterian laity comprised Theodore Dewar, Robert Nosworthy, Islay Bennett and Charles Lyon. Office bearers of the Methodist church included Thomas Johnston, John Moffatt and Joseph Tainton. Sherwood primary school head teachers were also prominent: Hugh Welch as a Presbyterian elder; Eskiel Larter, choir master at St. Matthew's; and Thomas Fielding, a long term lay supporter of both the local Methodist Church and the Methodist Conference of

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<sup>74</sup> David Hilliard, 'Anglicanism', in *Australian Cultural History*, S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.17.

<sup>75</sup> Reports, St. Matthew's, Sherwood, *Church Chronicle*, 1890-1920; records of St. Matthew's Sherwood, 1921; minutes, kirk session, Sherwood Presbyterian Church 1891-1920; members roll and minutes, Sunday school teachers meetings, Sherwood Methodist Church, 1905-1918.

Queensland.<sup>76</sup>

The role of women within the congregations was analogous to their duties as the maternal parent of the family. The membership of St. Matthew's Mothers Union supported the sanctity of marriage and Christian motherhood. Several had participated in the churching ceremony based on Mosaic Law, which considered childbirth unclean and therefore required a woman to be purified before recommencing her association with the church.<sup>77</sup> Between 1900 and 1920, fifty nine churchings were performed within St. Matthew's parish. The prayer at the commencement of the ceremony reflected the uncertainty still associated with childbirth:

O Almighty God, we give thee humble thanks that thou has vouchsafed to deliver this woman thy servant from the great pain and peril of childbirth.<sup>78</sup>

Although the Sherwood Presbyterians allowed females to participate in management committee meetings during the 1890s, most females who supported the protestant churches belonged to the ladies guilds of their respective churches. Still with Christian grace, they frequently served as work horses, engaging in 'sale of work' activities as members of sewing guilds and church help societies.<sup>79</sup> These activities provided income for various projects, the result of decisions made by their husbands as presiding laity. Depending on the denomination concerned, these included the purchase of a rectory, repairs to a manse, or the construction of a new church.<sup>80</sup> Women comprised the majority of the membership

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<sup>76</sup> Reports, St. Matthew's, Sherwood, *Church Chronicle*, 1890-1920; minutes of the kirk session, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 1891-1920; members roll and minutes of Sunday school teachers meetings, Sherwood Methodist Church, 1905-1918; Dingle, *Annals of Achievement*, p.113.

<sup>77</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd edition, F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingston, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.293.

<sup>78</sup> *Book of Common Prayer*, Church of England, 1662, pp.323-324.

<sup>79</sup> Extracted from *Church Chronicle*, 1890-1920; minutes, kirk session, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 1890-1920; minutes, Sunday school teachers meeting, Sherwood Methodist Church, 1905-1918.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*



of temperance societies and mission organizations. They sang in the church choir and their daughters played the organ or taught in the Sunday school.<sup>81</sup> (see appendix C.iii)

Service to the church as an adult often resulted from ceremonies and activities experienced as a young person. Church of England children became familiar with confirmation ceremonies. Presbyterians were encouraged to subscribe to the confession of faith, while Methodists considered decision day activities important. These ceremonies led to participation in the life of the church as a communicant and attendance with parents at Sunday services. By 1915, most adult laity had either received Sunday school training or experienced membership of the Christian Endeavour society.

All protestant churches at Sherwood extended their Sunday school activities to other parts of the Sherwood Shire: Church of England and Presbyterians to Oxley, and Methodists to Graceville, Darra and Seventeen Mile Rocks.<sup>82</sup> Male superintendents of local Sunday schools were father figures, with Anglican, William Freeman, serving at Oxley for thirty years, and Methodist, Benjamin Sinnamon at Seventeen Mile Rocks for over twenty years. John Moffatt and Thomas 'Father' Payne served lengthy terms as superintendents of the Methodist Sunday school at Sherwood.<sup>83</sup>

Sunday school children at St. Matthew's 'adopted' Laura, a child fostered by a Church of England mission in New Guinea.<sup>84</sup> In addition to the popular Sunday school picnic, Sunday school attenders at all protestant churches annually engaged in the rather serious activity of sitting for examinations based on their Sunday school lessons. The Sherwood Methodists regularly achieved 70 to 80 percent of the allotted marks.<sup>85</sup> By 1920, the

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<sup>81</sup> Extracted from *Church Chronicle*, 1890-1920; minutes of Sunday school teachers meetings, Sherwood Methodist Church, 1905-1918.

<sup>82</sup> *ibid*; H.V. Sinnamon, *A Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, (Seventeen Mile Rocks, Q.: H.V. Sinnamon, 1980), pp.61-63.

<sup>83</sup> Report, St. Matthew's, *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1911; Dingle, *Annals of Achievement*, p.209; Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, p.63; minutes, Sunday school teachers meeting, Sherwood Methodist Church, 15 June 1915.

<sup>84</sup> Report, St. Matthew's, *Church Chronicle*, 1 April 1902, p.146, 1 Nov. 1902, p.60.

<sup>85</sup> Minutes, Sunday school teachers meetings, Sherwood Methodist Church, 1905-1918.

enrolment of 278 pupils at the Sherwood Methodist Sunday schools, exceeded that of the Church of England with 50 and the Presbyterian Church with 66 enrolments.<sup>86</sup> Parental membership of the Methodist Church was not a prerequisite of Sunday school membership.

Instruction at the Sherwood Methodist Sunday school involved the use of the catechism, a card containing questions and answers of a religious nature, compiled in relation to a child's age. Pupils were expected to memorize the answers to the questions.<sup>87</sup> Temperance instruction occurred once every quarter. In January 1915, from an enrolment of 146 pupils, 76 signed the pledge.<sup>88</sup> In addition to the Methodist and Presbyterian churches inducing their young to abstain from alcohol, St. Matthew's Church of England encouraged their youth to support prohibitional activities.<sup>89</sup> With the younger generation conscious of the evils of strong drink, this ensured that well beyond the 1920s it would be difficult to establish an hotel or wine saloon in Sherwood or the adjoining suburbs of Corinda, Graceville and Chelmer.

During the 1910s, young men in the Church of England Men's Society at St. Matthew's performed service work within the parish,<sup>90</sup> while most Methodists and Presbyterians in their teens or early twenties participated in Christian Endeavour activities. Christian Endeavour supporters pledged 'to promote an earnest Christian life amongst their membership' and 'to render themselves useful in the service of the church'.<sup>91</sup> Members of the Sherwood Methodist Christian Endeavour visited the sick, spread the gospel or

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<sup>86</sup> 'Statistics', *Minutes, 20th Queensland Conference, Methodist Church of Australia, 1921*, pp. 44, 54, *Proceedings, Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1921*, p.90, parochial information, *Church of England Year Book, 1920-21*, p.107.

<sup>87</sup> Minutes, Sunday school teachers meetings, Sherwood Methodist Church, 1905-1918.

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.*, 26 Jan. 1915.

<sup>89</sup> Report, St. Matthew's, Sherwood, *Church Chronicle*, 1 Oct. 1920, p.213; reports in minutes of the congregation meetings, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, 1890-1900.

<sup>90</sup> Report, St. Matthew's, Sherwood, *Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1914, p.126, 1 Sept. 1915, p.18.

<sup>91</sup> Constitution, Christian Endeavour Society, *Minutes, 2nd Queensland Conference of the Methodist Church of Australia, 1903*, p.126.



organized prayer meetings where they re-consecrated their life to Christ.<sup>92</sup> On 30 November 1913, on the invitation of the minister, William Brown, senior members conducted the evening service.

God's presence was felt throughout the meeting not only by the Endeavours, but by all the congregation. Many had come out of curiosity, but went to their homes convinced that the 'Endeavour Society' was indeed a living and working body.<sup>93</sup>

By 1920, the membership of the three protestant churches located in Sherwood, comprised 474 adults and 394 children, a total of 868.<sup>94</sup> Influenced by resident clergy, activities involving both parents and children, often from the one family, were an integral part of the life of the three churches. The main supporters of these churches now resided in the suburbanized portion of the Sherwood Shire. They constituted 17.3% of the shire population, which by 1920 was estimated at 5000.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Minutes, Christian Endeavour Society, Sherwood Methodist Church, 6 Aug. 1913.

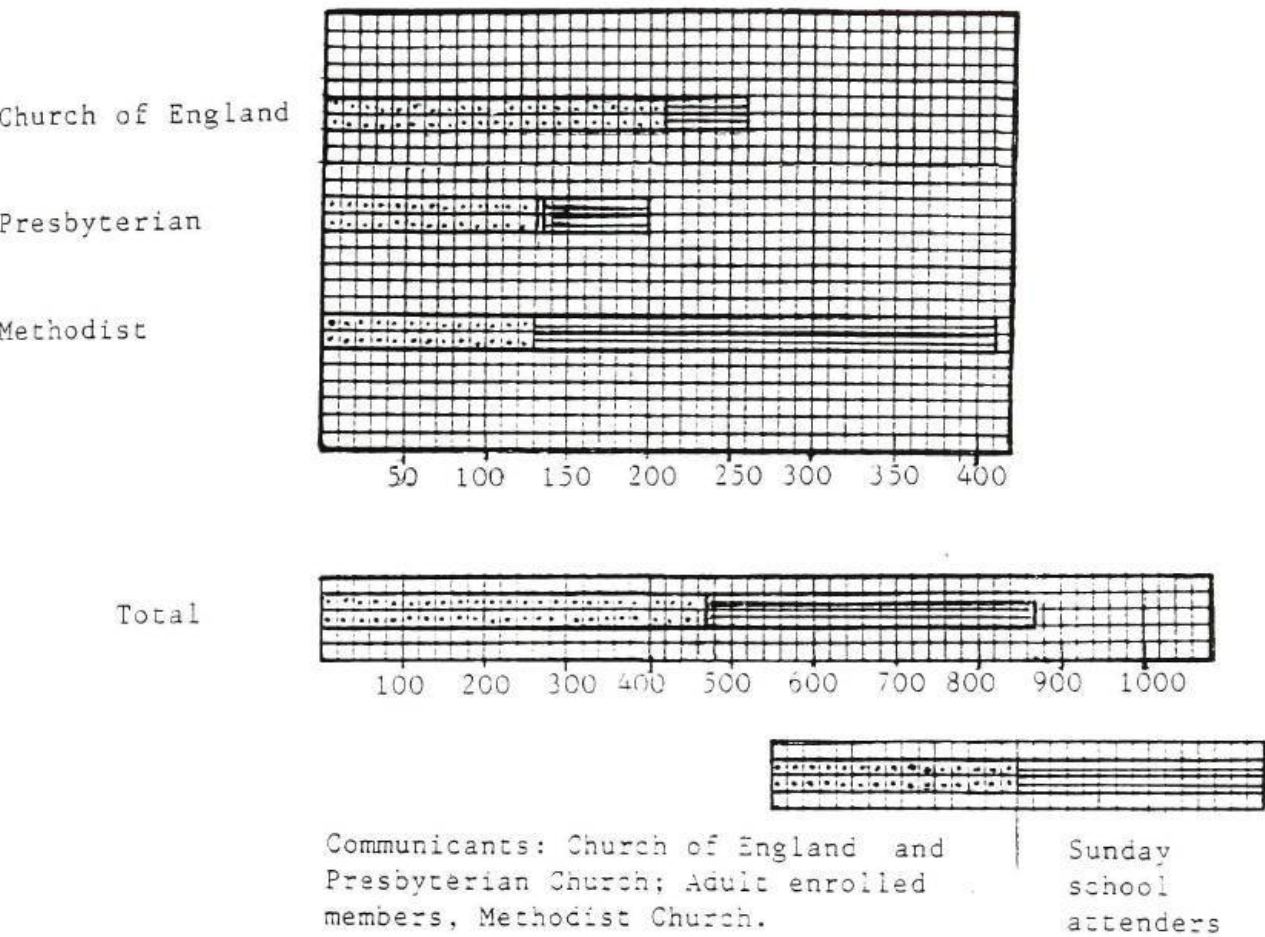
<sup>93</sup> *ibid.*, 30 Nov. 1913.

<sup>94</sup> 'Statistics, parochial information, *Church of England Year Book 1920-21*, p.107, *Proceedings, Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1921*, p.90, *Minutes, 20th Queensland Conference, Methodist Church of Australia, 1921*, pp. 44, 54.

<sup>95</sup> 'Statistics of Queensland', *QPP*, 1921, vol.1, p.287.

Graph 9

Communicants, adult enrolled members and Sunday school attenders at St. Matthew's Church of England, Sherwood Presbyterian Church and Sherwood Methodist Church, 1920.

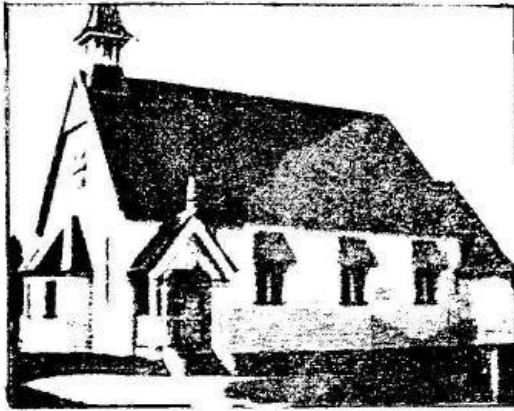


- (i) The above does not include adherents. In 1920, the Sherwood Methodist Church claimed 500 adherents.
- (ii) Some communicants could still be attending Sunday school.
- (iii) The average attendance for all denominations is not available.

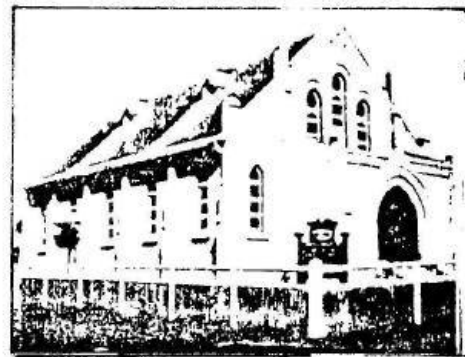
Source: 'Statistics', parochial information, *Church of England Year Book*, 1920-21, p.107, *Proceedings, Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, 1921, p.90, *Minutes, 20th Queensland Conference, Methodist Church of Australia*, 1921, pp. 44, 54.



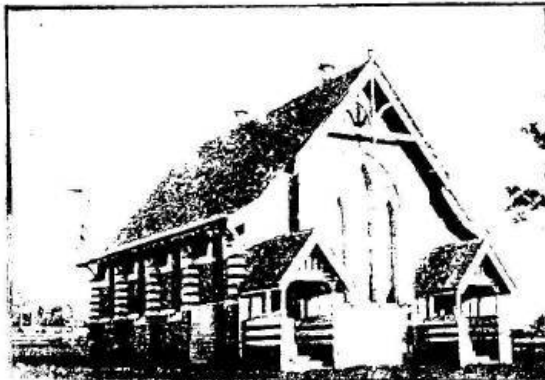
41 Four churches, suburbanized area of the Sherwood Shire, 1921.



St. Matthew's Church of England  
of England, Sherwood



Methodist Church  
Sherwood



Presbyterian Church  
Sherwood



St. Joseph's Catholic Church  
Corinda

(Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue, pp.61-67.)

Notwithstanding the diverse approaches to their ministry, clergy appointed to protestant churches within the Sherwood Shire, still encouraged the retention of traditional values. They urged the rejection of those adverse elements typical of an urban society, which threatened the cohesion of the family unit. In contributing to the stability of the local area, protestant religions ensured that it would be difficult to substantially change the conservative outlook which had developed within the suburbanized portion of the shire.

The moral influences inherent in the various protestant religious activities, produced a reaction within the suburbs of the Sherwood Shire similar to that of primary school education. Both encouraged conformity, and exceeded the effect of character forming elements, the basis of other local social activities, such as fraternal lodges, friendly societies and sporting organizations. Protestant churches though working independently of one another, complemented and extended the efforts of primary school education, strengthening the family as an effective social control unit. The involvement of the young ensured that during childhood they remained an integral part of the conforming society, and on becoming parents, would pass on to their children, the moral requirements of such a society.

By 1920, the 868 official members of the three protestant churches at Sherwood represented 17.3% of shire residents, with enrolment at State primary schools, the main educational influence, accounting for 877 children, 17.5% of the shire population.<sup>96</sup> Consequently, there was little difference between official membership of protestant churches and enrolments at State primary schools. Still, due to the predominant adult membership of the former, the religious influence in the shire extended beyond the three protestant churches.

Local residents with sole membership of protestant churches in the inner city would have added to this influence. In addition, religion infiltrated institutions other than churches. As indicated in chapter four, it formed the basis of moral elements influencing the function of most fraternal lodges and friendly societies in the local area. These institutions also tended

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<sup>96</sup> Annual Returns, 1920-23, Sherwood school, QSA, EDU/AB78, Seventeen Mile Rocks school, QSA, EDU/AB98, Oxley school, QSA, EDU/AB79, Darra school, QSA, EDU/AB1520; 'Statistics', *Church of England Year Book*, 1920-21, p.107, *Minutes, 20th Queensland Conference, Methodist Church of Australia*, 1921, pp. 44, 54, *Proceedings, Annual General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, 1921, p.90.



to attract support from members of Sherwood's three protestant churches. At least half the number of State primary school children enrolled in the shire attended Sunday school and were exposed to the additional moral education provided by the church. Religious instruction in primary schools and the religious obligation of the scout movement, enabled local protestant churches to extend their influence within these institutions.

Furthermore, with the majority of church membership resident in the suburbanized portion of the shire, middle class association with the local protestant churches unconsciously contributed to the effect of religious influences. Strict moral behaviour indicative of church membership, would have been emulated by the less affluent suburban residents of the shire who already approved middle class values. By 1920, with the expanding St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church and the associated convent school, poised to become a significant force locally during the next decade, religion emerged as the most effective moral influence in the Sherwood Shire.

Similar to educational institutions, the ideals associated with religion were mostly imported by British migrants. Many traditions were retained within the structure of the three local protestant churches. Like primary school children, supporters of the protestant churches feared ostracism. Moreover, there existed the additional fear of spending an eternity in hell if one strayed from the expected path. In Pollock's case, although the moral law had not been violated, he was penalised for the manner in which he exercised the right of free speech.

Even so, unlike education, religion has not been fully acknowledged as an integral part of Australian culture. American historian, A.L. McLeod, excluded religion from his work, *The Pattern of Australian Culture*, as he considered religion, 'singularly absent as a cultural force'.<sup>97</sup> He based his assumption on the lack of spiritual devotion by Australia's early convicts because the church supported the convict system. In addition, McLeod maintained that uneducated clergy, and the separation of the church from the State tended to isolate religion 'from the mainstream of culture in general'.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> A.L. McLeod, ed., *The Pattern of Australian Culture*. (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 6,7.

<sup>98</sup> *ibid.*

By the 1890s, the penal system had long since ceased to exist. The university degrees of several protestant clergy who served at Sherwood indicated that not all clergy lacked an education. Although in Australia, the Church of England and the State were separate entities, the Anglican Church remained influential. Presbyterian and Methodist Churches had not enjoyed as close a relationship with the State as the Church of England had in Britain, but in both Britain and Australia they were able to maintain an effective presence. In the Sherwood Shire, religion had yet to embrace new ideas and therefore retained its traditional image. As the most effective moral influence, it was integrated with other locally established institutions which also had their cultural origins in Britain.

The British influence on religion prompted church historian, Patrick O'Farrell, to observe that although religion had some cultural relevance, a religion typical of Australia had yet to emerge. He maintained that this was one aspect which contributed to religion's separation from 'the mainstream of Australian culture'.<sup>99</sup> O'Farrell's observations are partly substantiated by the actions of several protestant churches in Queensland during the early 1900s. The attempt by these churches to restore the sanctity of the sabbath and introduce prohibition, separated them from the mainstream of urban culture, as these initiatives conflicted with the lifestyle enjoyed by most of Brisbane's society. But, despite these circumstances, a religion representative of urban life in Queensland failed to materialize and challenge the presence of those established religions with British origins.

Still, within the Sherwood Shire, protestant religions in remaining closely associated with the culture of the local area, supported prohibition, and were an important influence in preventing the expansion of hotels to several residential suburbs of the shire. As the ministry of the Sherwood churches extended beyond the shire, these churches would have influenced the development of moderate attitudes in other districts. Within the shire, the moderate attitudes of local residents may have contributed to the conservatism of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church as it expanded during the 1920s. In maintaining stability, especially within the family unit, the protestant religions located at Sherwood ensured that the conservative outlook now suburban in nature, would remain entrenched within the local society beyond the 1920s and 1930s. With such an outlook already an integral part of the

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<sup>99</sup> Patrick O'Farrell, 'The Cultural Ambivalence of Australian Religion', in S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith, eds. *Australian Cultural History*, pp. 8,11,13.



Sherwood Shire society in the decade prior to the 1920s, it constituted the principal influence in the reaction by local suburban residents, and indeed the whole shire, to historical events such as war, strikes and State elections.

## CHAPTER 7 CONSERVATIVE REACTION TO EVENTS, 1912-1920

And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden: and there he put man whom he had formed. ... And a river ran out of Eden to water the garden; ... And the Lord commanded the man, saying, Of any tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.<sup>1</sup>

In 1906, two articles in the *Brisbane Courier* provided an enthusiastic but florid description of the Sherwood Shire. Surrounded by hills, the shire and its environs presented a 'noble picture' of 'exceeding beauty', direct 'from the hands of the Divine Creator'. Furthermore, the *Brisbane Courier* considered that 'providence intended' that the shire should be a 'garden suburb' with 'picturesque' homes 'hidden amongst sheltering foliage'; a setting which would gladden the 'souls' of the urban employed residing in the area. Not surprisingly, within this description of the local environment and its close association with the 'Divine Creator', the *Brisbane Courier* referred to the original garden, revealing that while 'Eden' had its serpent, the problem concerning residents of Corinda and adjacent suburbs was the unpopular, excessive rail fares.<sup>2</sup> By 1910, with the high rail fares now reduced, the shire's 4050 residents appeared content to reside in an environment still displaying those qualities emphasized by the *Brisbane Courier*. Due to the strong religious presence, most residents would have then considered, that, if like Eden a serpent existed, it could now be ascribed to any influence which threatened their conservative lifestyle, and that submission to such an influence symbolised partaking of the forbidden fruit.

The main arterial road which traversed the suburbanized portion of the shire between Oxley and Chelmer, symbolised another important feature of the legendary garden. As a river watered Eden, so this road had a specific function as it too enhanced the lifestyle of the local area. Because of its frequent use by pedestrians and mainly horse drawn vehicles, it continued to serve as an effective means of communication. Yet the full extent of its influence probably appeared less noticeable to many of its users. This thoroughfare known at Graceville as Indooroopilly Road and at Corinda as Oxley Road, crossed several seasonal streams. Despite their presence, the road contained two straight sections, each two miles

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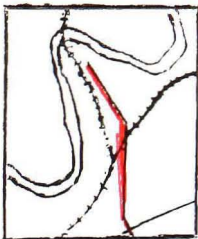
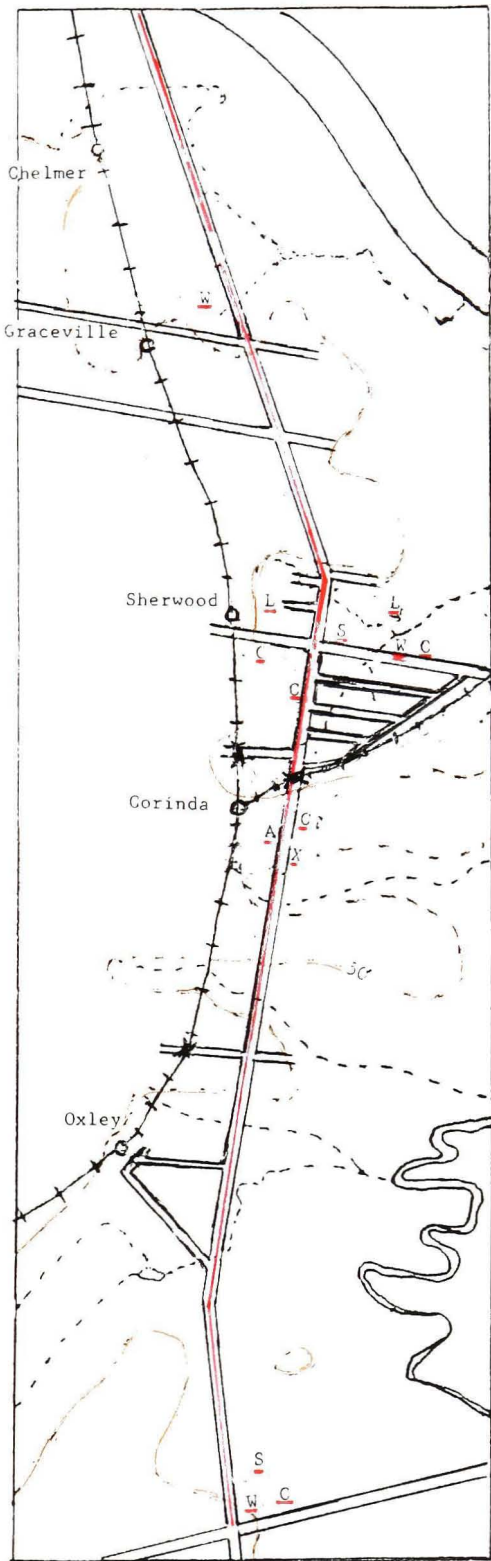
<sup>1</sup> *Holy Bible*, King James version, chapter 2, verses 8-17.

<sup>2</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 9 June 1906, p.12, 23 June 1906, p.12.



Map 23

MAIN ROAD BETWEEN OXLEY AND CHELMER, 1920.



- C church
- S school
- L lodge
- A school of arts
- X shire chambers
- W war memorial



scale  
1 1/2 inches = one mile

LEGEND

Boundaries: shire - - - - -

hills: crests. prominent.

Roads: main.

bridges:

quarry:

Streams: perennial.   
seasonal.

Contours: ft 50

Railway line:   
with station.

Streets: constructed.   
future.

Swamps: perennial.   
seasonal.

Source: map. Ipswich one mile series, 1905.

in length. Like most roads in the shire it followed the surveyed borders of the original selections, thus avoiding conflict which often occurs when resuming land across privately owned property.

Therefore, this main thoroughfare bore an analogy to the straight, narrow and restricted lifestyle of the majority of its users, and due to the nature of its construction, unintentionally encouraged peaceful co-existence among those residing in its vicinity. Besides, many conforming influences such as schools, churches and lodges were situated along its route or in adjacent residential subdivisions.<sup>3</sup> From 1912 to 1918 as shire residents reacted to three events affecting both Brisbane and Queensland, this road continued to be associated with the conservatism of the local area.

With the exception of Sherwood Presbyterian minister John Pollock, the majority of suburban residents in the Sherwood Shire remained silent and dutifully approved the Queensland Government's handling of the Brisbane General Strike of 1912. Again, partly to protect the garden, they followed the example of the rest of Australia in their support for the Great War, 1914 to 1918. From 1915, the reluctance of most residents to reach for what they perceived as the forbidden fruit of socialism, was reflected in the shire's adverse reaction to the Labor\* Party during its early years in government, when the local anti-Labor vote reached 58%. Nonetheless, while response to these events confirmed the existence of a community spirit, such a reaction by the shire society tended to highlight the insecure and over-reactive elements of the conservative outlook.

Initially, the Brisbane General Strike of 1912 focused on tramway employees, who, contrary to instructions from the management, insisted on wearing their union badges when at work.<sup>4</sup> Subsequent action by the tramway management to crush the Tramway Employees

\* In this thesis, Labor will be spelt according to present custom.

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<sup>3</sup> See map 21, p. 186 for location of these influences in Sherwood; map 23, p.224 indicates location of these influences along the length of the main road.

<sup>4</sup> D.J. Murphy, 'The Tramway and General Strike in 1912', in *The Big Strikes, Queensland 1889-1965*. D.J. Murphy, ed. (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1983), pp. 122-123.



Association by either sacking the wearers of union badges or locking out other tramway employees who protested,<sup>5</sup> would have created less interest in the Sherwood Shire than in the inner city suburbs. For local residents, the railway still provided the sole means of public transport; trams had yet to reach the outer south-western suburbs of Brisbane to disturb the dust along the main road at Sherwood or the serenity of the adjacent residential areas.

When the tramway dispute expanded to a general strike, it involved 43 unions and implicated butchers, bakers and employees of small businesses. Although the closure of shops may have inconvenienced some shire residents, the proprietor of one Sherwood store served regular customers at the back door.<sup>6</sup> In the inner city, frustrated strikers intimidated and assaulted fellow workers who refused to strike, while other irresponsible strikers resorted to vandalism. Those committing these offences were few in number.<sup>7</sup> Still, as many unions were associated with the Labor Party, Queensland Premier, Digby Denham, conscious of flagging support in the electorate for his Liberal government, stood to gain politically from the strike. Condoning the anti-union stance adopted by Joseph Badger, manager of the Brisbane Tramway Company, Denham campaigned for the maintenance of law and order, which he considered was jeopardised by the extreme conduct of those participating in the strike.<sup>8</sup>

Denham's electorate of Oxley included the Sherwood Shire, where his main supporters were the middle class minority, several of whom were public servants. Members of this

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<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*; Ross Fitzgerald, *A History of Queensland: from the Dreaming to 1915*. (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, reprint, 1986), p.331.

<sup>6</sup> James Hogan recollections, 1986.

<sup>7</sup> A.A. Morrison, 'The Brisbane General Strike, 1912', *Historical Studies, Australian and New Zealand*, vol.4, no.14, May 1950, p.131.

<sup>8</sup> Murphy, 'The Tramway and General Strike of 1912', in D.J. Murphy, ed., *The Big Strikes, Queensland 1889-1965*, pp. 119-122,127.

class when proceeding along the main road to the railway station or as they socialized at church, lodge, shire council or sporting functions, would have passed on their opinions concerning the ramifications of the strike to other shire residents. Although Denham resided in the neighbouring Stephens Shire, a close association existed between the Stephens and Sherwood Shires. Denham and several Stephens Shire residents were members of the Oxley Sailing Club situated at Chelmer. Sherwood and Stephens shared a representative on the Victoria Bridge Board located in the inner city.<sup>9</sup> More importantly, because of their conservatism, the residents of both shires were likely to react negatively to any influence, no matter how remote, which might disturb the tranquillity of their respective local areas. While such an attitude allowed little opportunity for an objective assessment of the strike, it ensured substantial support for Denham's law and order campaign.

During his campaign Denham exaggerated the significance of the strike. Consequently, the Commonwealth Labor government, aware of the true circumstances, rejected his request for a warship and combat troops.<sup>10</sup> This lack of support by the Commonwealth Government attracted local comment. In a letter to the editor of the *Brisbane Courier*, a correspondent with the nom-de-plume of 'Oxley', presumably a resident in either the Sherwood Shire or the Oxley Electorate, drew attention to the apparent closeness of the Commonwealth Labor government with the strikers. The correspondent revealed that the Australian flag which should have flown only from the mast head of the Commonwealth Government buildings, also flew from the flagpole of the Trades Hall;<sup>11</sup> an observation, trivial to some, but significant to those who opposed the strike.

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<sup>9</sup> Membership, Oxley Sailing Club, 1911, in *Pugh's Almanac*, 1911, p.604; membership, Victoria Bridge Board in *Pugh's Almanac*, 1905, p.484, (Charles Stumm, Chelmer), 1911, p.616, (Matthew Goggs, Sherwood Shire councillor).

<sup>10</sup> Communication, D.F. Denham to Sir William MacGregor, *QPP*, 1912, vol.1, p.27; Fitzgerald, *From the Dreaming to 1915*, p.332.

<sup>11</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 27 Feb. 1912, p.6.



Although uniformed police were capable of handling disturbances associated with the strike, Denham permitted the swearing in of 3000 special constables to maintain the peace. The hasty recruitment of specials resulted in many dubious characters being sworn in.<sup>12</sup> Others who wore the badge of special constable included public servants, small businessmen and agriculturalists from Brisbane's suburbs and rural areas in south-east Queensland.<sup>13</sup> With many of the Sherwood Shire population either public servants or agriculturalists, the special constabulary attracted several responsible though untrained volunteers. As one resident, a boy at the time, recently recalled:

I remember local men including my father, being in the constable's contingent. The City later presented the volunteers with a nice certificate expressing the thanks of the citizens.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to the certificate, some locals who acted as special constables retained other mementoes of their service, especially the wooden baton with the steel inner core.<sup>15</sup>

In a display of community spirit matching that of the volunteer special constabulary, the local area provided further support for Denham's strategy. Residents at Chelmer formed a vigilance committee, ostensibly to counteract subversive union activity rumoured to be prevalent in Brisbane's suburbs. Committee members patrolled the district between 8 pm and midnight.<sup>16</sup> Local volunteers guarded the railway bridge across the Brisbane River between Chelmer and Indooroopilly, because of fears that the bridge might be blown up.<sup>17</sup> The *Brisbane Courier* suggested that due to the 'increase of threatening characters', other suburbs would be advised to follow Chelmer's example of establishing a vigilance

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<sup>12</sup> Morrison, 'Brisbane General Strike, 1912', p.135.

<sup>13</sup> Fitzgerald, *From the Dreaming to 1915*, p.332.

<sup>14</sup> H.V. Sinnamon, *A Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*. (Seventeen Mile Rocks, Q.: H.V. Sinnamon, 1980), p.85.

<sup>15</sup> Private oral recollections, 1986.

<sup>16</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 2 Feb. 1912, p.5; Morrison, 'Brisbane General Strike', p.135.

<sup>17</sup> James Hogan recollections, 1986.

committee.<sup>18</sup>

On Friday, 2 February 1912, a day still referred to as 'Black Friday' or 'Baton Friday', uniformed police and untrained specials armed with batons, dispersed unarmed strikers participating in an illegal march in the inner city. The irresponsible actions of many specials discredited the majority of uniformed police. In reaction to events of 'Black Friday', railway workshop employees at Ipswich went on strike, depriving Sherwood Shire residents of trains after 6 pm weeknights.<sup>19</sup> But the events of 'Black Friday' heralded the beginning of the end of the strike, as strikers gradually returned to work during the ensuing weeks.

Until the 2 February there had been little comment from the Christian church regarding the dispute. After 'Black Friday' as the church searched for its conscience, Roman Catholic churches in rural areas urged strikers to refrain from action which might lead to 'a subversion of law and order'. These churches considered that strikers supporting such action were 'guilty of a flagrant violation of the law of God'. Similarly, Sunday services conducted by the Church of England for the apparently blameless special constables, focused on the continued need for law and order.<sup>20</sup> During the week following 2 February, sixty protestant ministers under the chairmanship of Archbishop St. Clair Donaldson of the Church of England, unsuccessfully discussed methods of arriving at a peaceful solution to the strike.<sup>21</sup>

Donaldson's pastoral letter of 26 February 1912 adopted a neutral stance. This prompted *The Worker* newspaper to ask whether Donaldson was 'prepared to stand out from the ruck' and 'secure the abolition of a system' supported by private persons with capital, which *The Worker* considered was responsible for the dispute.<sup>22</sup> Congregationalists drew attention to the lack of true leadership within the striker's ranks. Methodists called for young strikers to be educated by an evangelistic process to enable them to benefit from

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<sup>18</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 2 Feb. 1912, p.5.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, 3 Feb. 1912, p.5.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, 12 Feb. 1912, p.5.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, 7 Feb. 1912, p.5.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, 26 Feb. 1912, p.5; *The Worker*, 2 March 1912, p.5.



Christian democratic principles.<sup>23</sup> The various churches, though providing cautious support for unionism, could not accept strike action, and in the Church of England's case, the 'economic socialism' which unions supporting the Labor Party appeared to espouse.<sup>24</sup> The reaction by the churches to the strike while offending neither the government nor the middle class supporters of these churches, provided little consolation for the strikers.

In contrast to the attitude of the majority of Christian churches towards the strike, Sherwood Presbyterian minister, John Pollock, again revealed his determination to speak his mind and to demonstrate what he perceived to be the true nature of his role as a Christian clergymen. His urging of fellow clergy to speak out during the Maritime Strike of 1890 was once more reflected in a provocative statement reported by the press three weeks after 'Black Friday'. He then declared that the time was approaching when some of the clergy would have to be with the ordinary people 'or else get out of sight'.<sup>25</sup>

Still, Pollock's interest in industrial disputes had not been restricted to criticising the inaction of protestant clergy, as disclosed by his pro-union comments during the Maritime Strike of 1891.

One cannot help thinking that it is a pity the (Maritime) Strike should have occurred, ... but looking at all the facts what reasonable or unbiased mind can see how it could have been avoided. It has, and will have, however, its lessons and results never to be forgotten or lost.<sup>26</sup>

Although his remarks occurred prior to the defeat of the strikers, Pollock maintained that the Maritime Strike had shown 'what love of order and real organization' existed 'in the Labor ranks'. He considered this was one aspect of Labor philosophy destined to commend unionism to every 'fair minded' person.<sup>27</sup> Despite these observations, the Brisbane General Strike revealed that either side had failed to learn from the 'lessons and results' of the past, with many 'fair minded' persons yet to share Pollock's enthusiasm for the principles of

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<sup>23</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 19 Feb. 1912, p.5.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, 24 Feb. 1912, p.5.

<sup>26</sup> *The Worker*, 18 Oct. 1890, p.3.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*

unionism based on Labor Party ideals.

Because of the apathy of Christian churches towards the strikers, the Brisbane General Strike committee, motivated by John Adamson, State parliamentarian and a former Methodist minister, established a Labor Church based on Christian Socialist ideals, and invited John Pollock to be its pastor. Pollock, considered by *The Worker* newspaper, an 'earnest and sincere friend of Labor', had attended meetings of unionists during the initial stages of the strike.<sup>28</sup> At the formation of the Labor Church on 23 February 1912, Pollock's address conflicted with the views of the Presbyterian Church and his local member of parliament, Premier, Digby Denham. The *Brisbane Courier*, reported Pollock as expressing

firm adherence to the principles of unionism. The giant 'Proletariat' had awakened ... but unlike Samson of old he had no idea of destroying the great temple of industrialism.<sup>29</sup>

Pollock then recommended to Christian clergy, that 'the hope of their hearts must be in Socialism'.<sup>30</sup>

While his remarks were not aimed at overturning society, they produced an immediate reaction from John McLennan, dairy farmer and Presbyterian, residing across the Brisbane River from the Sherwood Shire. In a letter to the *Brisbane Courier*, McLennan considered it inconceivable that Pollock supported men whose ambition was to 'subvert those elements which contributed to righteousness and peace'.<sup>31</sup>

As a Christian gentleman and preacher of the Gospel of peace and goodwill to men for the last twenty years, it comes as a shock to find him on the same platform as Collings and Co (the strike committee). ... These men need to be converted and by becoming their pastor, Mr Pollock will effectively teach them to act up to and practise the doctrine of the sermon on the mount, ... the sooner he undertakes the task, the better.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> *The Worker*, 27 Jan. 1912, p.11.

<sup>29</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 24 Feb. 1912, p.5.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> J. McLennan, letter to *Brisbane Courier*, 27 Feb. 1912, p.5.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*



Pollock's reply to his 'sincere friend', John McLennan, again indicated his support for socialist ideals. Furthermore, he maintained that he 'would ever try to declare the counsel of God', hopefully, not inconsistent with 'the standards of (his) church'.<sup>33</sup> He revealed how he had objectively assessed the strike, offering 'no opinions of the wisdom or unwisdom of it' as the unions possessed all the facts, so that there remained little to influence an outsider. While he admitted that the extension of the strike by fellow unionists who went out in sympathy might be considered by some as 'foolish or wrong', he supported the view that their actions should not have alienated them from the ministry of the church.<sup>34</sup>

Regarding McLennan's criticism of the strike committee, Pollock maintained that unlike the acts of the 'assailants of Black Friday', the committee were a 'body of men ... which Queensland has no better to show', and 'whose ordinances and self restraint' would remain a 'matter of history'. He asserted that rather than apportion blame for the deplorable outcome of the strike, examination of its cause was of greater importance. With a tilt at either Premier Digby Denham or tramway manager, Joseph Badger, he declared that 'offences must needs come, but woe unto that man by whom they come'.<sup>35</sup>

Pollock's association with the Labor Church at the time of acrimonious division with Brisbane society proved unacceptable to the Presbyterian Church. Following his resignation from the Sherwood charge he informed the congregation at the Labor Church that it would continue to do the 'work of the Master', and 'that if he could not speak as God commanded him ... he would not speak at all'.<sup>36</sup> However, his work as pastor of the Labor Church was short lived as this church folded within two years.

Pollock's connections with the Brisbane General Strike provided an insight into aspects of this dispute usually of little concern to historians, who generally allude to the significance of 'Black Friday' and the political implications of the Queensland Government's involvement

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<sup>33</sup> J.S. Pollock, letter to *Brisbane Courier*, 1 March 1912, p.6.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *The Worker*, 16 March 1912, p.20.

in the strike. While most Christian churches adopted a neutral stance, Pollock had shown genuine concern for those rejected by many of Brisbane's society. He had dared to be a Daniel and dared to stand alone. Indeed, he had demonstrated that the forthright, genuinely concerned Christian clergyman of 1912, who held political views contrary to the established order, had to be prepared to sacrifice his living.

The exchange of opinions between McLennan and Pollock, associates in the Presbyterian Church, provided an indication of anti-strike attitudes at the grass roots of some areas of Brisbane society; McLennan's view reflecting the impact of Denham's law and order campaign. The Presbyterian Church, quick to commend Pollock's efforts in supporting the introduction of old age pensions as reminiscent of Thomas Chalmers, a nineteenth century reformer in the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, was less effusive concerning his actions during the strike.<sup>37</sup> Presbyterian Church historian, the Reverend R. Bardon, considered that Pollock's involvement in the Labor Church was as unsuccessful as earlier experiments in 'communism' by the Christian church, as these too, had failed to find 'the new man - the social man in Christ'.<sup>38</sup> Still, Pollock could be considered as no less successful than those clergy who vacillated after 'Black Friday', as they apparently failed to find in their representation of Christ, a solution acceptable to all parties associated with the dispute.

The strike could be designated the battle of the badges: tramway employees prevented from wearing their union badges, while anti-strike volunteers were encouraged to wear the badge of special constable. As Denham sought to retain his badge as Premier, Pollock strove to uphold the wearing of his as a Christian minister. As Pollock had forecast, the outcome remained a 'matter of history'. The Commonwealth Arbitration Court confirmed the right for tramway employees to wear their union badges, with history discrediting those who irresponsibly wore the badge of special constable.

Despite their political differences, both Denham and Pollock appeared to have suffered

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<sup>37</sup> Rev. R. Bardon, *The Centenary History of the Presbyterian Church in Queensland*. (Brisbane: The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1949), pp.170-171.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*



a similar fate. Denham's over-reaction to the strike found favour with rural electors and temporarily regained him government. But, in the metropolitan area the brutality of 'Black Friday' lingered and eventually vitiated his own popularity and that of his party. Within three years, the election of the Labor Party to government was assisted by Denham's defeat in the Oxley Electorate. Pollock, though having relinquished the ministry of the Sherwood Presbyterian Church, had fulfilled his ideals in the short term, but the closure of the Labor Church again deprived him of his living. Still, with the benefit of hindsight, Pollock's commendable stand could be considered over-reactive and indeed premature, due to the subsequent election to government of the Labor Party whose ideals he supported.

By 1915, both Denham and Pollock were no longer prominent personalities in the Sherwood Shire. Denham had little cause to travel the undeviating main road to political meetings at Corinda or Oxley. In 1914, in one of his last acts in the shire as Premier and member for Oxley, he laid the foundation stone of the new Sherwood Methodist Church.<sup>39</sup> Notwithstanding, the Presbyterian congregation still worshipping in the church fronting the main road at Sherwood, recognized Pollock's twenty seven years as minister. Inside the church on the north wall they placed a plaque commemorating his auspicious service to the Sherwood charge.<sup>40</sup>

The Brisbane General Strike revealed that the community spirit which the activities of the Sherwood Shire Council, school of arts and several sporting organizations engendered, could be activated by external as well as local influences. Between 1914 and 1918 the Great War elicited an even greater community response from the shire area.

During the 1890s, the Sherwood Shire experienced two events involving Queensland's military forces which produced varying reactions from the shire society. The negative response by local residents to a powder magazine established in the mid-1880s near the Brisbane River at Sherwood, contrasted with the shire's enthusiasm later in the decade for the South African War. The adverse reaction to the danger which the powder magazine

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<sup>39</sup> Inscription, foundation stone, Sherwood Methodist Church, (now Uniting Church), Sherwood Road, Sherwood.

<sup>40</sup> Plaque, Rev. J.S. Pollock, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, (now part of Chapel Gardens), Oxley Road, Sherwood.

presented to the local area, probably occurred because of its location close to a residential area emerging as the domain of the middle class. Questions asked in the Legislative Assembly in 1891, revealed that the magazine contained 6632 pounds of powder including filled cartridges, and 18,000 rounds of ammunition.<sup>41</sup> The magazine continued to concern the local community until its removal during the Great War.<sup>42</sup>

In 1899, the shire's enthusiasm for the South African war foreshadowed even greater support for Britain's involvement in future conflicts. As hostilities against the Boers in South Africa increased, Queensland raised several contingents to supplement the British forces. Local volunteers included members of the Berry, Strong and Coxen families.<sup>43</sup>

Still, one resident, Alfred Midgeley, a Boer sympathiser, opposed sending troops to South Africa. Midgeley, a Labor Party supporter residing on Corinda Hill, had previously been a Methodist minister and an independent member of the Legislative Assembly.<sup>44</sup> Midgeley's daughter, Zoe, when writing of the reaction to her father's activities, revealed that

the families on the hill and its immediate environs were conservative, comfortable middle class. ... A Labor supporter within their midst (was) reprehensible.<sup>45</sup>

Because of Midgeley's opposition to the South African War, his home was subjected to unofficial surveillance by some local residents.<sup>46</sup> When the first contingent embarked for

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<sup>41</sup> Answers to questions asked by Samuel Grimes, member for Oxley, *VPLAQ*, 1891, vol.1, p.232.

<sup>42</sup> D. Collyer, P. Byrnes, eds., *Sherwood State School Centenary Souvenir History, 1867-1967*. (Sherwood, Q.: Publications Committee, Sherwood State School and District Centenary Celebrations, 1967), p.34.

<sup>43</sup> J. Berry and H. Tainton, *Berry Family History*, (Cleveland, Q.: J. Berry, 1984), p.18; Collyer and Byrnes, *Sherwood School Centenary*, p.9.

<sup>44</sup> Zoe O'Leary, *The Little Byron, The Life of Alfred Midgeley, 1849-1930*. (Chippendale, N.S.W.: Alternate Publishing Co-operative, 1982), p.139.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*



South Africa to the rousing cheers of the majority of Brisbane's population, Midgeley, his wife and their older children, 'were extremely articulate' in opposition.<sup>47</sup> Their eight year old daughter, Dolly, secured

a vivid red flag on the highest part of the roof (of the house). ... (She) couldn't explain why the red flag. (It) caused a sensation, (which was) highly gratifying until her father told her to remove it.<sup>48</sup>

Because of the elevation of Midgeley's home, the flag flew in full view of the main road, the school and the protestant churches at Sherwood.

But these protests failed to reduce enthusiasm for the war. Subsequently, two local volunteers, Sergeant Robert Edwin Berry and acting-Corporal John MacFarlane lost their lives during manoeuvres against the Boers in the Transvaal. Their deaths led to the erection in the grounds of St. Matthew's church of the first war memorial in the shire.<sup>49</sup>

Involvement in the South African war had revealed to shire residents that those who volunteered, were subjected to dangers and destructive elements far greater than that posed by the siting of a powder magazine within the local area. Despite this, most residents again expressed enthusiastic support for the mother country on the outbreak of the Great War. National recruiting campaigns proved effective, with billboards and posters directed at those who were not newspapers readers. Posters informed Australians 'that your country needs you'.<sup>50</sup> In similar vein and equally effective were the efforts of schools, the shire council, churches and sporting organizations in the Sherwood area, who prepared the young or expanded the national campaign by reminding eligible men of their duty to Britain.

School reading books informed boys in classes V and VI at local primary schools of their patriotic duty when reaching manhood, with such poems as 'The Burial of Sir John

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<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1902; Berry and Tainton, *Berry Family History*, p.19.

<sup>50</sup> Recruiting poster, in Manning Clark, *A Short History of Australia*. Illustrated second edition. (Melbourne: MacMillan, 1981), p.182.

Moore', and 'Ye Mariners of England' who guarded 'our native seas'.<sup>51</sup> The *School Papers* of 1911 enlightened younger boys as to their possible role in the future.

Far from Australia's sunny land  
the pulse beats warm and strong ...  
And Britain's Empire flag we'll bear  
thro' field and fire and flood.<sup>52</sup>

In supporting the Great War, the Sherwood Shire Council, under the chairmanship of Major Fanshawe Gostling set the example to the local area. 'Lizzie', the council's steam driven roadmaker bedecked with flags and placards, proceeded along the main road supporting activities associated with the war effort.<sup>53</sup> In 1915, the council supported a snowball march through the shire by 'The Dungarees'.<sup>54</sup> They had marched from Warwick and appeared to emulate a similar but longer march staged earlier in 1915, by 'The Kangaroos', when 100 recruits marched from Wagga Wagga to Sydney, hoping to entice others to join their ranks.<sup>55</sup> The shire council's war effort extended to holding Jack's Days.<sup>56</sup> This involved street collections for King George's Fund for Sailors, sometimes conducted in association with a patriotic or recruitment activity. Other money raising activities reminded locals of the threat to Britain, especially those activities which provided relief funds for the gallant Belgians, who initially bore the brunt of the German army's advance in Europe.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *Royal Reader*, no.6, p.53.

<sup>52</sup> *School Paper*, May 1911, p.32.

<sup>53</sup> C.V. Abrahams, ed. *Sherwood District Centenary Celebrations, 1867-1967*. (Sherwood, Q.: Sherwood District Weekly, 1967), pp.62-63.

<sup>54</sup> Financial statement, Sherwood Shire Council, *QGG*, vol.109, no.56, 4 August 1917, p.516; *Queenslander*, 27 Nov. 1915, p.21, 11 Dec. 1915, p.27.

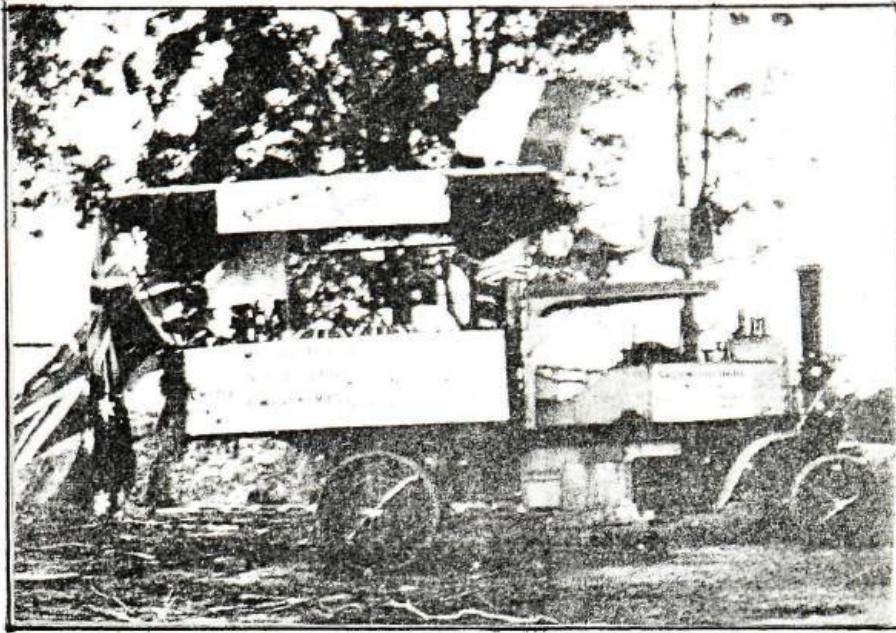
<sup>55</sup> Michael McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War*. (Sydney: Collins, 1984), p.188.

<sup>56</sup> Financial statement, Sherwood Shire Council, *QGG*, vol.106, no.181, 6 May 1916, pp.1641-2; Police Commissioner's correspondence, Jack's Days, 1914-1918, QSA, A/11964, (background to Jack's Days).

<sup>57</sup> *QGG*, vol.104, no.140, 29 May 1915, p.1485, vol.106, no.181, 6 May 1916, pp.1641-2.



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'Lizzie', Sherwood Shire Council's  
steam road maker, supporting the  
war effort, c.1914.

(C.V. Abrahams, ed. Sherwood  
Centenary, 1867-1967, p.62)

43



Recruiting poster, Great War.  
(Manning Clark, A Short History  
of Australia, p. 182.)

The national recruiting campaign often concentrated on specific groups, and in 1915 appealed to sportsmen throughout Australia to enlist.<sup>58</sup> This produced a positive response from the newly formed Sherwood Amateur Athletic Club who soon went into recess due to the high number of enlistments from its members. As one report of the club stated:

(Our) war record is one of which any Club or institution might be proud. ... Out of a membership of 42 in 1915, 38 enlisted and were accepted for active service.<sup>59</sup>

Led by St. Matthew's Church of England, the local protestant churches encouraged enlistment in the armed forces. The parishioners of St. Matthew's on opening the *Church Chronicle* in June 1915, would have been influenced by the leading article which informed readers how the war could ultimately effect the lifestyle of local areas.

In this war we are not fighting for England, but for the Empire. ... If the allies (are) beaten, ... it wouldn't be very many weeks before the Union Jack would have to be hauled down in Brisbane, and a yellow flag with an eagle on it, hoisted in its place.<sup>60</sup>

Having increased the fears of St. Matthew's parishioners for their own safety as well as for their local Garden of Eden, the article urged those eligible to enlist in this 'chance of a lifetime'.<sup>61</sup> Then followed a poem reminiscent of a recruiting poster which depicted a child asking a seemingly innocent question, 'What did you do in the Great War, Daddy?' The poem, designed to prick the conscience, enquired of those reluctant to enlist:

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<sup>58</sup> McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War*, p.98.

<sup>59</sup> Sherwood Amateur Athletic Club report, *Sherwood Shire Agricultural, Horticultural and Industrial Society, Souvenir Catalogue*, first annual show, 1921, p.80.

<sup>60</sup> 'Why should I enlist?', *Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1915, p.111.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*



How will you fare sonny, how will you fare  
 In the far off winter night,  
 When you sit by the fire in an old man's chair  
 And your neighbours talk of fight?  
 Will you slink away, as it were, from a blow,  
 Your old head shamed and bent?  
 Or say - I was not the first to go.  
 But I went - thank God, I went.<sup>62</sup>

When a visiting clergyman, Archdeacon Rivers, preached at St. Matthew's 'on the duty of sacrifice, not only for the country but also for the church of Christ',<sup>63</sup> the local Church of England Men's Society, (C.E.M.S.) accepted the responsibility for recruitment in the parish. During 1915, the C.E.M.S. announced that all its eligible members had enlisted, a circumstance of which they were 'naturally proud'.<sup>64</sup> Those joining the C.E.M.S. later in the year increased the number of enlistments.<sup>65</sup> The society usually presented each recruit with either a wristlet watch, a fountain pen or a wallet of notes, and then wished them a safe return after gallantly performing their duty.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, like the local Presbyterian and Methodist congregations, St. Matthew's placed an honour board in their church. St. Matthew's board included the names of 100 parishioners and friends of the parish who had enlisted.<sup>67</sup>

The Sherwood Shire honour roll in its prominent position in the shire hall at Corinda revealed that 265 males and 7 females enlisted from the shire.<sup>68</sup> The females performed

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<sup>62</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*, 1 Sept. 1915, p.188.

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1915, p.259.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*, 1 Jan. 1916, p.18. (Actual enlistments unknown).

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*, 1 Nov. 1915, p.235, 1 Dec. 1915, p.259.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, 1 Nov. 1916, 1 March 1919.

<sup>68</sup> Honour roll, Sherwood Shire, the Great War, erected by the Shire Council, 1917; formerly housed in the shire hall, now located at the Sherwood R.S.L. Gifford Croll Memorial Hall. The board also contained names of those enlisting after 1917. The shire hall was originally the school of arts, see Chapter 3.

nursing duties. Enlistments included five members of the Keid family residing at Graceville.<sup>69</sup> Although pacifists like the parents of the Midgeley family opposed the war, their sons, unsupportive of the South African War, volunteered to serve in the Great War.<sup>70</sup> With recruiting age ranging from 18 to 45 years, enlistments emanated mainly from the populated suburban areas of the shire and encompassed a variety of occupations. While the names of volunteers under 21 years were not recorded on electoral rolls, 47% of 131 enlistments whose names and occupations were registered on the Oxley Electoral Roll, comprised blue collar (skilled and unskilled) workers, mostly from the suburbanized portion of the shire. Of 193 enlistments to which residential addresses could be assigned, 30% were located at Sherwood, the most populated suburb.<sup>71</sup>

**Table 19**

**Enlistments from the Sherwood Shire in the Great War in relation to occupation and residence.**

Occupational category	Chelmer	Graceville	Sherwood	Corinda	Oxley	Darra	Wolston/ 17 Mile Rocks	Total
Professional/ management	4	-	7	5	2	-	-	18
White collar	11	5	7	12	1		1	37
Blue collar skilled	3	3	8	2	4	-	2	22
unskilled	1	4	13	6	11	5	-	40
Agricultural*	3	-	1	2	1	-	2	9
Self-employed	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	5
Unknown	3	6	20	14	14	2	3	62
Suburban/ district total	25	18	59	41	35	7	8	193

\* By 1915 agriculturalists constituted only 7% of males enrolled in the Oxley Electorate so that this factor rather than farm labour requirements was responsible for the low enlistment in this occupational category.

Source: Honour roll; enlistments from the Sherwood Shire in the Great War, erected by the Sherwood Shire Council, unveiled in 1917 in the school of arts/shire hall. Roll is now located in the Gifford Croll memorial hall, Sherwood - Indooroopilly Returned Services League, Corinda; enrolments, Oxley Electorate, 1915-1918, in *Queensland Electoral Rolls*.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> O'Leary, *The Little Byron*, p.35.

<sup>71</sup> Enlistments from honour roll, Sherwood Shire; occupational and residential information in *Oxley Electoral Roll*, 1915-1918. Several long term residents, (e.g. one of the Midgeley sons), enlisted outside the shire, and are therefore not included on Sherwood's honour roll.



For those who enlisted, local residents provided continued support. The women busied themselves with the activities of the Red Cross, one member raising funds from staging picnic races at the Oxley race track. Older men, and boys too young to pass for eighteen, participated in the activities of the Red Cross Men's Auxiliary. The crutches and splints manufactured by the auxiliary were a grim reminder to the young of their possible fate when they enlisted.<sup>72</sup> In 1915, the mothers of St. Matthew's parish probably concerned at their son's welfare, cooked twenty puddings and assisted financially towards the Soldier's Help Christmas Pudding Fund.<sup>73</sup> In turn, seventeen year old Leslie Sinnamon, son of a Methodist family residing at Seventeen Mile Rocks, endeavoured to reassure his anxious mother regarding his own welfare. He disclosed in a letter home that his principles developed at the local church had not been forsaken at the front.

I am ... in the best of health and strength and have not taken to drink nor am I likely to. Remember ... the same will that impelled me to do my duty will enable me to overcome temptations.<sup>74</sup>

But as the enormity and horror of the conflict revealed itself, the eldest son of a Sherwood family wrote a cautionary letter from the front to his widowed mother regarding his younger brother, now approaching enlistment age: 'if Jim wants to join up, don't sign the papers'.<sup>75</sup> Even by 1915, the managing director of the Foggitt Jones bacon factory at Oxley, Thomas Llewellyn Jones, though supportive of Australia's involvement, considered that the war had lasted too long.<sup>76</sup> As the newly elected member for the Oxley electorate he acknowledged that

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<sup>72</sup> Extract from photocopy of Miss Freeman's diary, typescript, G.M. Bailey historical collection, Oxley; Red Cross Men's Auxiliary photograph, Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, pp.62, 63.

<sup>73</sup> *Church Chronicle*, 1 Jan. 1916, p.18.

<sup>74</sup> Leslie Sinnamon, letter to his mother, included in Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, p.116.

<sup>75</sup> James Hogan, oral recollections, 1986-87.

<sup>76</sup> T.L. Jones, member for Oxley, address in reply debate, *QPD*, 1915-16, vol.120, p.17.

there has arisen a feeling of horror in the minds of the people ... at the prolongation of a war which is destroying thousands of men, ... and at the distress and suffering which has been brought upon thousands and thousands of women and children.<sup>77</sup>

Yet, the shire, despite its awareness of the reality of war maintained its support for the conflict. Although the Australian people ultimately rejected conscription, meetings favouring conscription were held in the shire during the 1916 referendum campaigns. In 1916, in support of the 'Yes' vote, the Sherwood Shire chairman, Fanshawe Gostling, called a 'public meeting of all residents of the shire', who believed 'that Australia should keep her pledged word - "the last man and her last shilling"'.<sup>78</sup> In the Sherwood Shire area at the 1916 referendum 63% favoured conscription, while in 1917, 61% voted in favour.<sup>79</sup>

On the cessation of hostilities, 52 enlistments from the shire including one nursing sister, had paid the supreme sacrifice.<sup>80</sup> Although one enlisted member of the Church of England Men's Club died from illness, the remainder survived the war.<sup>81</sup> Those from the shire who failed to return included Leslie Sinnamon, who had endeavoured to assuage the anxiety of his mother; an enemy mortar shell had 'sealed' his 'destiny' at the Somme in 1916.<sup>82</sup> Of the five enlisted members of the Keid family, three were killed in action. Three members of the Sherwood Amateur Athletic Club suffered a similar fate, with a further nine members wounded.<sup>83</sup>

The shire council, local schools, churches and lodges welcomed home the survivors and proceeded to erect memorials to those who paid the supreme sacrifice. Near the intersection

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<sup>77</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 4 Oct. 1916, p.8.

<sup>79</sup> Results, referenda, 1916 and 1917, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers*, (CPP), vol.2, p.805, 1917-1919, vol.4, p.1531.

<sup>80</sup> Honour roll, obelisk, Great War, Graceville Memorial Park.

<sup>81</sup> *Church Chronicle*, 1 Oct. 1919, p.221.

<sup>82</sup> Sinnamon, *Gentleman Farmer's Paradise*, p.47.

<sup>83</sup> Honour roll, Graceville Memorial Park; Sherwood Amateur Athletic Club report, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.80.



of the main thoroughfare with Ipswich Road, the Sherwood Shire Council erected a statue of an Australian soldier mounted on a pedestal, on which was inscribed the names of fifteen servicemen from Oxley killed in action. (Map 23, p.224) The shire council honoured two of these servicemen, Privates R. Price and M. Enright, by naming two nearby streets after them. Sergeant W.H. Cooling killed at Gallipoli, another of those honoured on the Oxley memorial, was again remembered in the planting of a Cocos Island palm in the grounds of the Sherwood Methodist Church. His name, and others on the Oxley memorial, were also inscribed on the honour roll attached to the Sherwood Shire memorial obelisk erected at Graceville.<sup>84</sup>

Since 1904, the Sherwood Shire Council had developed parkland fronting the main road at Graceville.<sup>85</sup> By 1919, the council had designated this area a memorial park in commemoration of those of the shire who had lost their lives in the Great War.<sup>86</sup> Two rows of trees, each tree planted in memory of one of the fallen, formed an unbroken avenue from the main road to a granite obelisk designed by shire clerk, Islay Bennett. A copper bronze honour roll attached to the obelisk recorded the names of 51 servicemen and one nursing sister who paid the supreme sacrifice.<sup>87</sup> (Map 23, p.224 and Photo, p.245) The shire residents subscribed £255 towards the erection of the memorial; the collection organized by Ethel Lidgard, a relative of one of the fallen. Lieutenant Maurice Little who had lost his sight when severely wounded at Gallipoli, unveiled the memorial on 29 November 1920.<sup>88</sup> Services initially held annually at the memorial on Anzac Sunday were later conducted on Anzac Day when the Queensland Government officially declared this day a public holiday.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Memorial, Great War, Oxley; Lona Grantham, Price family historian; memorial plaque on Cocos Island palm, Sherwood Methodist, now Uniting Church; memorial, Graceville Memorial Park.

<sup>85</sup> See application for loan, *QGG*, vol.81, no.134, 21 Nov. 1903, p.1008.

<sup>86</sup> *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, pp.51-52.

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.73.

<sup>89</sup> *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.52.

## Three War Memorials, Sherwood Shire.



South African war,  
St. Matthew's cemetery  
Sherwood.

(Sherwood Shire Show  
Catalogue, p.68)



The Great War  
Sherwood Shire Obelisk  
Graceville Memorial Park  
(G.M. Bailey historical  
collection)



The Great War  
Oxley War Memorial  
Satellite, 25 April  
1990, p.4)



In 1919, six returned servicemen founded a sub-branch of the Returned Soldiers and Sailors Imperial League of Australia, with Maurice Little as President.<sup>90</sup> The Sherwood sub-branch was one of several hundred sub-branches of the League formed throughout Australia, its national membership of returned servicemen peaking at 114,700 by 1919.<sup>91</sup> In inculcating 'loyalty to Australia and the British Empire', the Sherwood sub-branch complemented those social activities within the Sherwood Shire which espoused conservatism. In addition, it subscribed to the ideals of other sub-branches throughout Australia. These ideals encouraged sub-branch membership to preserve the memory of those who had died in war, care for the needs of 'the sick and injured and their dependants', and to support one another on their return to civilian life.<sup>92</sup>

Advertisements promoting the Sherwood sub-branch appeared in local publications:

Are you a digger? - If so, do you belong to the greatest organization in Australia - the R.S.S.I.L.A. If not, then in your own interests, and for the sake of your less fortunate coppers, you should 'hop in' right away. ... Bring your complaints to the (monthly) meetings.<sup>93</sup>

During the three years following the establishment of the Sherwood sub-branch, the Sherwood Shire repatriation committee, involving both returned servicemen and members of the shire council, fostered one important aim of the League. Headed by Councillor J.W. Hammond, the committee supervised the building of Anzac cottages for widows and children of servicemen killed in action. Tradesmen who had not enlisted often donated their labour in the construction of these cottages.<sup>94</sup>

During the 1890s and early 1900s, the reaction by Sherwood Shire residents to events of a military nature ranged from concern at the siting of a powder magazine to enthusiasm from most of the shire for the South African War. Like other communities throughout Queensland and Australia, this enthusiasm re-emerged and intensified on the outbreak of the

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<sup>90</sup> Abrahams, *Sherwood Centenary*, p.67.

<sup>91</sup> McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War*, p.212.

<sup>92</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Sherwood R.S.S.I.L.A. advertisement, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.47.

<sup>94</sup> Profile, J.W. Hammond, *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.47; James Hogan, oral recollections, 1986-87.

Great War. The local response to the powder magazine, and indeed the unofficial surveillance of Boer sympathisers by a section of the community during the South African campaign, appeared to be an over-reaction. Over-reaction again typified the enthusiasm of those who conformed to the expected standard of behaviour by enlisting in the Great War. Yet, such an observation if expressed at the time would have suffered swift rejection, especially as support constituted the key element in the local community's response to this conflict.

Conditioned by both national and local recruiting campaigns, volunteers from the shire maintained the traditional support for Britain while ostensibly protecting Australia well removed from the battle area. Those who volunteered experienced the support of most institutions and organizations in the shire. As demonstrated by the activities of the newly formed R.S.S.I.L.A. and the Sherwood repatriation committee, support for the survivors and for the families of those who failed to return, continued even after hostilities had ceased. Moreover, like the South African monument, the war memorials at Graceville and Oxley were constant reminders to the shire society of those killed in action.

The memorial obelisk at Graceville and its predecessor the South African monument at St. Matthew's church, could be considered man-made trees representing both good and evil in the local Garden of Eden. Shire residents, supportive of the South African War and the Great War, who may have deliberated on the symbolism of the two memorials, would have considered that these man-made trees portrayed the knowledge of good, due to the unquestioned support for the mother country by those whose names were inscribed thereon. To those questioning the validity of either conflict, the evil element represented the temptations and propaganda associated with recruiting campaigns and the subsequent horror of war. Those tempted to experience the 'chance of a lifetime' and who had ultimately paid the supreme sacrifice, had indeed suffered the same fate as the occupants of the original Garden of Eden. By partaking of the tree containing the knowledge of good and evil they had incurred the proscribed penalty - death.

On appropriate occasions, the memorials at Oxley and Graceville added to the number of meeting places located along the main road. Aided by the community's frequent exposure to the unchanging ritual of the annual commemorative services conducted by the



R.S.S.I.L.A., these memorials, reminders of the shire's past, eventually became an integral part of the established conservatism of the local area.

The Sherwood Shire society may have endured temporary change to its routine brought about by the Great War, but, as their opposition to the election of a Labor government reveals, the majority of local suburban residents were reluctant to subscribe to major change during this period. There was however, one slight deviation from this attitude. When the Labor Party assumed office in 1915, Oxley and Darra, the lesser populated suburbs in the shire assisted the defeat of Digby Denham and the election of Thomas Llewellyn Jones, who stood as a Labor candidate for the Oxley Electorate. Although the memory of Black Friday may have lingered, there existed other temptations for the working class in Oxley and Darra to support Labor. Denham's government had failed to address several problems affecting low wage earners, such as reduced wages and high prices, which had contributed to the Liberal's flagging support prior to the Brisbane General Strike.<sup>95</sup> Still, anti-Liberal sentiment within these suburbs did not necessarily constitute approval of the socialist philosophy of the Labor Party. Partly, it demonstrated support for Jones, a member of Brisbane's middle class, and as managing director of Foggitt Jones bacon factory at Oxley, an employer of local residents.

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<sup>95</sup> W. Ross Johnston, *The Call of the Land*. (Brisbane: The Jacaranda Press, 1982), pp.160-161; Ross Fitzgerald, *A History of Queensland from 1915 to the 1980s*. (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1985), p.6; Murphy, 'Tramway and General Strike', pp.119-120.

Table 20

Election Results, Sherwood Shire/Oxley Electorate, State Elections, 1915, 1918, 1920.

Sherwood Shire polling booths	1915						1918						1920					
	* Denham	#		+ Jones		Total	# Elphinstone	* Jones		Total	# Elphinstone	+ Reid		Total	# Elphinstone	+ Reid		Total
	votes	%	votes	%	votes	votes	votes	votes	%	votes	votes	votes	%	votes	votes	votes	%	votes
*Northern	706	67.8	335	32.2	0	1041	932	411	30.6	1343	1228	476	27.9	1708	1228	476	27.9	1708
<sup>b</sup> Southern	109	28.8	270	71.2	0	379	202	402	66.3	606	275	356	56.1	635	275	356	56.1	635
<sup>c</sup> Western	47	94.0	3	6.0	0	50	32	8	19.5	41	43	7	14.0	50	43	7	14.0	50
Total - Shire booths	862	58.6	608	41.4	0	1470	1166	821	41.3	1990	1546	839	35.1	2393	1546	839	35.1	2393
Total- Oxley Electorate	2885	48.4	3028	50.7	53	5966	3841	3511	47.5	7386	4919	3428	40.9	8392	4919	3428	40.9	8392
	majority, Denham, Sherwood Shire, majority, Jones, Oxley Electorate,		majority, Denham, Sherwood Shire, majority, Jones, Oxley Electorate,		17.2% 2.3%		majority, Elphinstone, Sherwood Shire, majority, Elphinstone, Oxley Electorate,		17.3% 4.5%		majority, Elphinstone, Sherwood Shire, majority, Elphinstone, Oxley Electorate,		29.5% 17.7%		majority, Elphinstone, Sherwood Shire, majority, Elphinstone, Oxley Electorate,		29.5% 17.7%	

\* Northern booths include the suburbs of Chelmer, Graceville, Sherwood and Corinda.

<sup>b</sup> Southern booths include the suburbs of Oxley and Darra as well as the mental hospital at Woogaroo.

<sup>c</sup> Western booth: Seventeen Mile Rocks farming district.

\* sitting member.

# Anti-Labor candidate: Liberal, 1915, Nationalist, 1918 and 1920.

+ Labor candidate.

Source: Election and polling booth results, *QPP*, 1915-16, vol.1, p.183, 1918, vol.1, p.43, 1921, vol.1, p.25; *Brisbane Courier*, 24 May 1915, pp. 6,9.



At the 1915 State election, the Labor Party increased its representation from 25 to 45 seats and subsequently won government. But at the two polling booths on the main road serving the suburbs of the Sherwood Shire, the results at the Oxley primary school booth on the southern end of the road, contrasted those at the Corinda School of Arts, a mile and a half to the north. Results at the Oxley booth favoured Jones (Labor), with 73% of the vote, while Denham (Liberal), received 62.6% at the Corinda booth. Like Oxley, voting at the Darra booth, and the staff booth at the mental hospital, Woogaroo, also favoured Jones. In the northern part of the shire which included Corinda, Sherwood, Graceville and Chelmer, where there were almost three times as many electors, support for Jones was less forthcoming, favouring Denham by almost two to one. (northern and southern booths, Table 20, p.249) Subsequently, 58.6% of the vote in the shire favoured Denham, reflecting the steadfast manner in which locals aided his law and order campaign during the General Strike. Still, working class areas outside the shire, like Goodna, Redbank and Thompson Estate, receptive to Labor's policies, ensured Jones' election.<sup>96</sup> Yet his victory was shortlived as circumstances affecting Queensland generally, contributed to his defeat in 1918.

Labor's first three years in government coincided with the escalation of the Great War, opposition by the Labor Party to conscription, the Easter uprising in Ireland and the Russian revolution. The Liberal parliamentary opposition as part of their strategy to regain government, attacked Labor for using the war as an excuse to control the price and export of sugar and meat.<sup>97</sup> The Liberals, however, refrained from harsh criticism of private companies associated with these industries for using the war to increase their profit.<sup>98</sup> In April 1916, the Liberals criticised the government because Queensland had failed to achieve its recruitment quota.<sup>99</sup> Later in the year they slated Labor's anti-conscription stance. A meeting of Sherwood Shire residents organized by shire chairman, Fanshawe Gostling, in

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<sup>96</sup> Polling booth results, 1915 State election, Oxley Electorate, *Brisbane Courier*, 24 May 1915, p.9; *QPP*, 1915-16, vol.1, p.183.

<sup>97</sup> G.P. Shaw, 'Patriotism v Socialism: Queensland's private war, 1916', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol.19, no.2, August 1973, p.168.

<sup>98</sup> D.J. Murphy, 'Thomas Joseph Ryan: Big and Broadminded', in *Queensland Political Portraits 1859-1952*. D.J. Murphy, R.B. Joyce, eds. (St. Lucia, Q.: University of Queensland Press, 1978), pp.273-4.

<sup>99</sup> Shaw, 'Patriotism v Socialism', pp.170-173.

support of conscription was probably designed to embarrass the Queensland Government. Gostling's rejoinder 'that Australia should keep her pledged word, "the last man and her last shilling"',<sup>1</sup> echoed the words of former Labor Prime Minister, Andrew Fisher. As leader of the Federal opposition he had originally made the pledge when committing the Labor Party's support for Britain at the commencement of the Great War.<sup>2</sup>

During the referendum of 1917, Labor's Roman Catholic supporters, because of their Irish ancestry and on account of their opposition to conscription, were seen by Liberals and other anti-Labor supporters as 'Sinn Fein revolutionaries', characteristic of those who participated in the uprising in Ireland.<sup>3</sup> In addition to its anti-conscription policy, Labor, by the end of its first term, had attracted further criticism from its opponents. The introduction of State enterprises like butcher shops, cattle stations and sawmills, which threatened the income of several private businesses, appeared to reflect the communist ascendancy in Russia. To anti-Labor forces it seemed that Labor policies threatened the whole capitalist and conservative edifice.<sup>4</sup>

While the Liberal opposition's attacks had the potential to increase anti-Labor sentiment within the Sherwood Shire, local influences also tended to reduce the Labor vote. At the 1918 State election, Nationalist candidate, Augustus Cecil Elphinstone, successfully challenged Jones for the seat of Oxley. Elphinstone possessed several attributes which ensured support in the Sherwood Shire equal to that of Denham. A resident of Corinda, and a freemason, Elphinstone had been founder and managing director of the newly established Queensland Lime and Cement Works at Darra. During the Great War, rather than serve as a commissioned officer, he had enlisted as a private.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 4 Oct. 1916, p.8.

<sup>2</sup> Pledge quoted from *The Argus*, Melbourne, 1 August 1914, by Ian Turner, '1914-1919', in Frank Crowley, ed., *A New History of Australia*. (Melbourne: Heinemann, reprint, 1980), p.314.

<sup>3</sup> Murphy, 'Thomas Joseph Ryan', p.279.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p.281.

<sup>5</sup> Memorabilia, Hopeful Masonic Lodge; Profile, 'A.C. Elphinstone', *Sherwood Shire Show Catalogue*, p.35; *Church Chronicle*, 2 Dec. 1918, p.246.



Although the Labor government increased its majority in the 1918 State election, Elphinstone attracted 52% of the vote in the Oxley Electorate. The anti-Labor vote in the Sherwood Shire holding firm at 58.6% rose to 69.4% in the shire's northern booths. (Table 20, p.249) In the southern part of the shire at Oxley, Labor received 64.4% of the vote, a drop of 5.9%, while at Darra and the mental hospital, Woogaroo, it fell from 72.5% to 68.9%.<sup>6</sup> Still, in the sparsely populated farming district of Seventeen Mile Rocks, a decrease in the number who voted at the local polling booth, reduced the anti-Labor vote to 78%. (Western booth, Table 20) Labor balanced its loss of the Oxley seat and three other metropolitan seats by increasing its presence in rural areas.

While Labor again regained government at the 1920 election, the swing against the party, almost 6%, reduced its majority from 24 to 4 seats.<sup>7</sup> In the Oxley Electorate, Elphinstone received 64.6% of the vote in the Sherwood Shire, and 58.6% from the whole of the electorate. (Table 20, p.249) Partly due to the influence in the rural areas of the powerful Australian Workers Union and increased support from cane-growers, Labor remained in government until 1929. As it reduced its socialization programme, it embraced a philosophy of rural conservatism, consistent with the outlook of the majority of its supporters.<sup>8</sup>

Although most residents in the closer populated suburbs within the shire revealed an anti-socialist attitude, by voting either Liberal or Nationalist at the State elections held between 1915 and 1920, Labor continued to attract over 58% of the vote at Oxley and Darra.<sup>9</sup> Oxley in particular, because of its sparse population and its location almost a mile and a half from the other suburbs of the shire, had, since the 1860s, possessed a mind of

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<sup>6</sup> Results, polling booths, Oxley, Darra, Woogaroo, State elections, 1915 and 1918, *Brisbane Courier*, 24 May 1915, pp.6,9, *QPP*, 1918, vol.1, p.42. See also, combined vote, southern booths of the Sherwood Shire, Table 20, p.249.

<sup>7</sup> C.A. Hughes, B.D. Graham, *Voting for the Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1890-1964*. (Canberra: Department of Political Sciences, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1974), pp.99-128.

<sup>8</sup> Fitzgerald, *History of Queensland 1915 to 1980s*, pp.3,14.

<sup>9</sup> Results, polling booths, Darra and Oxley, *Brisbane Courier*, 24 May 1915, pp.6,9, *QPP*, 1918, vol.1, p.43, 1921, vol.1, p.25.

its own. The establishment of small family firms during the 1890s with management close to its labouring workforce reinforced this attitude, as Oxley residents relied as much on employment locally, as with larger impersonal industries in the inner city. Rather than reflect a radical outlook because of its strong support for Labor, Oxley, as a small independent community, developed its own form of rural conservatism, similar to that which the Queensland Government eventually embraced. Still, most Sherwood Shire residents, unlike the occupants of the legendary Garden of Eden, refused to succumb to temptation. Their continued rejection of Labor philosophy even into the 1920s and 1930s provided a practical example of resistance to change, and together with the independence and stability of Oxley residents, the entrenchment of conservative ideals within the shire.

Between 1912 and 1920, as suburban residents of the Sherwood Shire reacted to events concerning both Brisbane and Queensland, it became apparent that the Brisbane General Strike and the Great War, though seemingly unrelated, influenced the results of the 1915 and 1918 State elections. The major conflicts of this period were a continuation of one specific conflict: the resistance by conservative forces to elements having the potential to change the established society within the local area. Yet the response to the events of this decade revealed insecure elements within the conservative forces of the shire, which in turn produced an over-reaction. In rallying support for the relevant cause, this over-reaction engendered a community spirit, demonstrated initially by the response to the General Strike when most residents supported the government. Later, support by the majority of the local community for the Great War appeared over-reactive, as was the negative attitude towards Labor Party ideals.

The Sherwood Shire, with its gradual suburban expansion amidst a predominantly rural environment, was probably one of several locations in Queensland considered as resembling the Garden of Eden. But, like the legendary garden there existed within the shire's suburban society, conditions and restraints governing residence. These encouraged conformity and again reflected the insecurity of the local conservative outlook. Suburban residents were reluctant to submit to new experiences, which, similar to sampling the forbidden tree containing the knowledge of good and evil, could drastically change the accustomed lifestyle. As part of the imported culture espousing conservatism, the meeting places lining the undeviating main road, itself representative of the river of Eden, were



indicative of the rectitude of the local area. By 1920, with the addition of polling booths and war memorials along its route, the road continued to function as an important communication and transport facility, and could be considered a local suburban contribution to the culture of the Sherwood Shire.

John Pollock's individualism and self-sacrifice as a Christian minister, unsettled the conservative forces which prevailed both locally and within his own church. As a result of their reaction, he was symbolically cast out of the garden. Paradoxically, local residents approved the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of those who lost their lives in the South African conflict and the Great War. As man-made trees, the local war memorials bore the fruit of this self-sacrifice, symbolised by the names thereon. While Pollock's attitude appeared out of step with the rest of the shire, the majority of shire residents in discontinuing their former custom of supporting the government of the day, were similarly out of step with the initiatives of the new Labor government. Although most residents resisted the temptation to subscribe to a seemingly unpalatable socialist society, the local suburban conservatism which the majority of residents from Chelmer to Corinda condoned, also proved incompatible with the rural conservatism which Labor eventually embraced. Moreover, by remaining in office, Labor too, contributed to the development of a stable society. It created what some might have seen as another Garden of Eden within the State, from which the population of the Sherwood Shire area, bound by its own suburban conservatism remained isolated and cast out.

## CONCLUSION

British philosopher, Michael Oakeshott, considered that the man of conservative temperament possessed 'the propensity to enjoy what is available rather than wish for something else'. Such a man was considered 'unadventurous' and unattracted to dangerous situations and lacked the impulse to 'sail uncharted seas'.<sup>1</sup> This behaviour typified the outlook of most of the Sherwood Shire society between 1891 and 1920. The suburban resident who enjoyed what was available and avoided dangerous situations, unless motivated by patriotism, had outnumbered the equally unadventurous pioneer agriculturalist. The conservatism developed by these pioneers survived in a form indicative of a suburban society, and contained elements capable of producing an over-reaction to any situation which appeared to pose a threat.

These circumstances substantiated the terms of the hypothesis of this thesis, which related to the survival of the conservative outlook and its effect on the local suburban population. The aim of the thesis supported these terms as the subsequent analysis revealed the reasons for the survival of the conservative outlook, and how this outlook influenced reaction to events of a threatening nature. The principal methods of analysis : a cultural approach, the use of themes and research of substantial but reliable resource material, disclosed the influences responsible for the survival of the conservative outlook. The several chapters of this thesis provided a comprehensive analysis of these influences by expanding both the main theme - the retention of a conservative outlook, and the supporting sub-themes focusing on stability, responsibility, conformity and other aspects of rational behaviour within the local community. This revealed the characteristics of the conservatism which emerged, and the extent to which this form of conservatism influenced reaction to events occurring both locally and outside the shire area.

Specifically, the several chapters disclosed that within an environment which had already experienced the conservatism of Aboriginal occupation, the first white settlers retained several customs typical of their British upbringing: hard work, self-help and a predilection towards the establishment of churches and schools. These attributes counteracted

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Oakeshott, *Rationalism in Politics and other essays*. (London: Methuen, 1962), pp.172-173.



the insecurity of semi-isolation and an unpredictable climate, and together with the uncertainty usually associated with agricultural occupations, contributed to the development of a conservative outlook. Furthermore, the existence of a small predominant group of agriculturalists, foreshadowed the formation of an influential middle class minority among the first generation of suburban residents in the Sherwood Shire.

From the mid-1880s, Brisbane's capacity to provide employment, and the presence of a convenient rail system, attracted both the middle income and low wage earners to the shire, intent on escaping the detrimental effects of the city. Influenced by the traditional ideals of suburbia, the middle class and other local residents adopted a conservative attitude characteristically suburban, yet compatible with that of the established agricultural society. Local suburban residents supported several social activities of British origin, with the shire council and the school of arts contributing to a community spirit. The influence of these and other activities such as fraternal lodges, friendly societies and sporting organizations, strengthened the conservative outlook already evident within the suburban society. As in Britain, the middle class administered these activities, aided locally by aspiring white collar workers.

Within the suburbanized portion of the Sherwood Shire, education and religion continued to feature prominently as social activities. The moral influences inculcated by primary schools and resident clergy of the dominant protestant churches, served as the principal means of social control by inducing conformity and contributing to the preservation of family values. Religion, mainly because of its close association with both the family and the middle class, constituted the strongest influence in the adoption of a conservative outlook.

Between 1912 and 1920, when the stability of the local area appeared threatened by events affecting both Brisbane and Queensland, the reaction by suburban residents as well as agriculturalists, revealed that such a reaction was also capable of engendering a community spirit. The majority of the shire approved the government's handling of the Brisbane General Strike, contrasting the lack of support by local residents for the actions of John Pollock, who, motivated by his socialist ideals, ministered to the strikers. The enthusiastic reaction by the local population to the Great War, contrasted the reluctance of

most residents to support the Labor government, and replace the shire's suburban conservatism with the rural conservatism which this government eventually embraced.

While the *Brisbane Courier's* description of the local area was reminiscent of the Garden of Eden, it appeared that the lifestyle of the local society as much as the suburban-rural environment symbolized the biblical legend. The strategic main thoroughfare representative of the river of Eden, and the presence of war memorials, man-made trees emblematic of good and evil, were important local contributions to the culture of the shire area. Besides, the shire's suburban society, influenced by their religious activities and therefore aware of the penalties associated with partaking of forbidden fruit, unofficially imposed conditions and restraints regarding residence, and constantly discouraged innovatory or destabilising practices. As a result, this society could be considered a frozen fragment of mid-nineteenth century middle class British society.<sup>2</sup> By the early 1920s, due to the continued self-imposed isolation from the modified ideals of the Labor Party, most of the shire represented a frozen fragment of Queensland's conservative society prior to the early 1900s.

The interrelationship between the several chapters of this thesis revealed the existence of patterns and paradoxes, which when analysed, broaden the perception of those cultural influences contributing to the conservatism of the Sherwood Shire and the local population's resemblance to past societies of Britain and Queensland. American sociologist, Eric Lampard, maintained that four inter-relating elements constituted the pattern of urbanization - population, technology, organization of a social system and environment.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, because of the close links between the city and the suburb, these elements typify the pattern of suburbanization in the Sherwood Shire, although in Sherwood's case, the sequence and characteristics of some elements differ. While the density of population was the essence of urbanization, the low concentration of the population within the residential areas of the shire,

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<sup>2</sup> For theories relating to frozen fragment societies, c.f. Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies*. (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1964), pp.3,4,9; J.B. Hirst, 'Keeping Colonial History Colonial: The Hartz Thesis Revisited', *Historical Studies*, vol.21, no.82, 1984, pp.103,104.

<sup>3</sup> Eric E. Lampard, 'Historical Aspects of Urbanization', in *The Study of Urbanization*. P.M. Hauser and F. Schnore, eds. (New York: John Wiley & sons, reprint 1967), pp.519-522.



underpinned the suburbanizational process. A spacious peaceful environment, rather than the discordant atmosphere of a congested inner city complemented this process, and enhanced the reception of a conservative outlook. Still, the suburbanizational process relied on technological advancements associated with the inner city of Brisbane, which created employment opportunities and a regular train service. Within the suburbanized portion of the shire, the organization of a social system was evident in the formation of status groups, such as middle class, white collar and working class. All three fostered the conservative outlook.

The several chapters of this thesis also disclosed the presence of other patterns during the suburbanization of the Sherwood Shire and the creation of a conservative outlook. The formation of such an outlook comprised several stages: introduction, development, reinforcement, consolidation and entrenchment. Indeed, a close relationship existed between this evolutionary pattern and the residential pattern of the emerging suburbs. From the mid-1880s, the arrival of new residents imbued with the ideals of suburbia, heralded the introduction of a suburban conservatism in the Sherwood Shire. As these new arrivals occupied the recently subdivided estates, the residential pattern disclosed that a minority, the middle class, influenced the development of this form of conservatism. Support for the middle class resulted as much from their own endeavours, as from the unsolicited approval of this class by white collar and working class residents domiciled nearby. Such a relationship led to the participation by a cross-section of the community in several diversive character forming social activities involving membership of the shire council, lodge and sporting organizations. These reinforced the conservative outlook, which was consolidated by the continued presence of these activities and the influence of the middle class in their administration. Similarly, but of greater consequence to suburban residents, was the lengthy exposure to the moral influences of primary school education, and to a larger extent the moral and spiritual influences of the dominant protestant churches. The restrictive and pervasive influences of these churches entrenched the conservative outlook, ensuring that it continued to mould the lifestyle of future generations.

In addition to these patterns, the processes associated with the adoption and entrenchment of the conservative outlook, revealed paradoxes which demonstrated both the strengths and weaknesses of such an outlook, particularly in relation to insecurity and over-reaction.

Though often considered a weakness, insecurity and over-reaction contributed to and strengthened the suburban conservatism in the Sherwood Shire. These characteristics, initially associated with the effect of migration on the pioneer agriculturalists, assume greater significance when applied to events of the 1890s and early 1900s. The enormity of the decision to migrate frequently inhibited further recourse to enterprising activities, resulting in the adoption of a stable lifestyle, in which fear and uneasiness would again surface should this lifestyle be threatened. In 1893, the disastrous floods and economic recession increased the insecurity of both suburban residents and local agriculturalists. The reaction by the urban employed who departed the shire, contributed to the temporary decrease in population.

During the 1890s and early 1900s, the dominant protestant churches, influential in entrenching conservatism among the suburban residents of the Sherwood Shire, strengthened their presence by inducing insecurity and fear. Their supporters feared ostracism or the consequence of Divine judgment should they infringe the moral obligations basic to membership of these churches. The dedicated support by local protestant churches for temperance and prohibition issues, revealed the propensity of these churches to over-react to the evils of strong drink, as shown by their influence in preventing the expansion of hotels or wine saloons throughout the suburban areas of the shire. Furthermore, local institutions such as the school of arts and friendly societies, when initially established by the working class in Britain, had created unease, prompting the middle class to assume control of these institutions. As schools of arts and friendly societies multiplied throughout Australia, their membership comprised the middle class and sections of the working class. As this thesis disclosed, these circumstances enabled J.B. Hirst to refute Louis Hartz view, that a collectivist working class ideology constituted the most important influence in the type of society which emerged in Australia during the early 1900s.<sup>4</sup> Hirst's support for the influential role of middle class institutions such as the school of arts and friendly societies, was substantiated by the prominence of this class in the establishment of these institutions in the Sherwood Shire.

Still, despite the strong conservative middle class influence within the residential area of the shire, and the absence of a collectivist ideology among the local working class, even the imagined incursion of this seemingly detrimental ideology produced insecurity and

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<sup>4</sup> Hirst, 'Keeping Colonial History Colonial', p.103.



over-reaction. Subsequently between 1912 and 1920, the insecurity of both suburban residents and agriculturalists, resulted in an over-reaction to events such as the Brisbane General Strike and the Labor Party in power. The latter coincided with the over-reaction by the shire society, to the Great War, as the war, like the strike and the Labor government, appeared to threaten the stability of the local area.

Yet, those who subscribed to the suburban and agricultural forms of conservatism were probably unaware that another paradox existed in relation to the conservative outlook. This was the adoption of this outlook by local residents supportive of those Labor Party ideals, which, from 1912 to 1920, created unease and elicited negative responses from most of the shire. Oxley residents, the majority of whom voted Labor at the elections held between 1915 and 1920, remained conservative in their outlook. Pollock had shown by his continued support for reforms designed to sustain family values that he maintained a conservative attitude. When embracing socialism and acting in accordance with his conscience as a Christian clergyman during the 1912 General Strike, he had not intended to destabilise society. While Pollock and the residents of Oxley demonstrated the extent to which conservative influences could infiltrate, these circumstances were again evident beyond the local area. Forces in the country had influenced the Labor government in Queensland to modify its collective ideals and adopt a programme espousing rural conservatism.

From the patterns and paradoxes revealed in the inter-relationship between the chapters of this thesis, it appeared possible for all roads to lead to conservatism, and that such an outlook constituted one of the 'shared values' of the culture of the Sherwood Shire, and indeed Queensland. Still, Australian cultural historian, John Rickard, considers that a culture should not to be identified because it contained 'evidence of shared values', but by the methods it developed to 'reconcile or at least accommodate the dissonant forms within it'.<sup>5</sup> Circumstances in the Sherwood Shire reflect the negative aspect of Rickard's observation. The uncompromising manner displayed by the majority of the shire's suburban residents, prevented any reconciliation with the 'dissonant forms' within their own culture. Due to the insecure and over-reactive elements which characterized the dominant suburban conservatism, accommodating Pollock's socialist ideals was never a consideration, and uninfluenced by the attitude of Oxley residents, there was a negative response to Labor

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<sup>5</sup> John Rickard, *A Cultural History of Australia*. (London: Longman, 1988), p.192.

government initiatives. This contrasted with the accommodating attitude eventually displayed by the Labor government and most rural areas of Queensland towards one another. Thus the isolationist stance of the majority of the Sherwood Shire society reinforces the view that by the 1920s, because of the dominance of suburban conservatism, this society represented a frozen fragment of a bygone era.

Historiographically, the thesis contributed to the accumulation of urban history in Australia and succeeded in revealing the distinctiveness of several suburbs located on the fringe of Brisbane. The distinctiveness of these suburbs lay in their gradual expansion within a rural environment attractive to both middle and lower classes. Moreover, the analysis of this outer suburban area between 1891 and 1920, disclosed how these suburbs resembled the ideal rather than the reality of suburbia, which in the present day appears less attractive, overcrowded and subjected to the drama and tension once the sole preserve of the inner city.<sup>6</sup>

Circumstances and events within the Sherwood Shire had none of the drama or the injustices of the convict era, or the economic impact of pastoralism, nor did they even faintly assume the magnitude of a gold rush or any of the great events with which conventional history is often associated. Still, as a local history, this thesis succeeded in providing a greater appreciation of temperance issues, the role of organizations like fraternal lodges and friendly societies, and the moral influences of education and religion. Importantly, it added to the knowledge of the effect of conservatism both locally and within the State, particularly the disparate forms it could assume, and the reasons future generations would have difficulty divesting themselves of such an influence. As an urban history, this thesis, because of its distinctiveness and analysis of events and cultural links important to the State and nation, contains several elements which have the potential to elevate local history to the status of conventional history.

Future research could focus on the Sherwood Shire area during the three decades following 1920. Of particular interest would be suburban expansion after 1925 under an impersonal, generally effective Brisbane City Council, rather than a community orientated,

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<sup>6</sup> Lewis Mumford, *The City in History*. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, reprint, 1979), pp.575-576.



but less effective shire council. While the local protestant churches maintained their influence, research could also concentrate on the expansion of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church at Corinda, and the apparent reliance by many of its congregation on employment in the public service and the railway department. Furthermore, examination of this period would again be influenced by events affecting the nation and the world, revealing in a local sense the insecurity and over-reaction produced by an enemy during World War II, constituting a greater threat than that posed by Germany during the Great War. These circumstances would again divulge the continuing effect of conservatism and the manner in which it had expanded its repressive influence. Besides, research into the expansion of Roman Catholicism, the effect of an impersonal city council administration on the local society, and reaction to events of the 1930s and 1940s, would no doubt reveal the presence of yet another distinctive form of conservatism within the former shire area.

Between 1891 and 1920, the first generation of suburban residents domiciled within the Sherwood Shire, pursued a lifestyle which contrasted that of the inner city of Brisbane. The environment of these outer suburbs, the inherited British culture, the middle class minority and the domination of the three protestant churches, were integrative elements influential in the development of a stable yet distinctive suburban society. The emergence of a conservative outlook indicative of such a society revealed both the strengths and weaknesses of this outlook, especially in the reaction by local residents to events of a threatening nature. Even though a progressive clergyman like John Pollock or residents of an independent minded suburb such as Oxley, embraced their own form of conservatism, it proved incompatible with that subscribed to by the majority of the shire's suburban residents. For most residents in this suburban-rural area, symbolic of the Garden of Eden, temptation represented those elements which threatened the accustomed lifestyle. By the 1920s, the shire now alienated from the advantages of rural conservatism espoused by the State Government, could be considered a remnant of British and Queensland society of the nineteenth century. Still, few residents would have conceded that the temptation they should have resisted, were those elements influential in the formation of the suburban conservatism which they so willingly embraced.

## APPENDICES



## Appendix A

Figures supporting the analysis of status groups, based on urban occupations and location of residence in the Sherwood Shire, 1894-1915.

- (i) Male occupation/residential relationship, Sherwood Shire, 1894.
- (ii) Male occupation/residential relationship, Sherwood Shire, 1900.
- (iii) Male and female occupation/residential relationship, Sherwood Shire, 1915.
- (iv) Male occupation/residential relationship, east/west side of the Ipswich-Brisbane railway, and other areas, Sherwood Shire, 1915.
- (v) Male and female occupations listed in Oxley Electoral Roll, 1915, whose associated addresses could not be specifically defined for inclusion in the analysis of status groups on the east or west side of the railway between Chelmer and Oxley.
- (vi) Sample of categories and occupations used in the occupation/residential analysis of suburban residents in the Sherwood Shire, 1894, 1900, 1915.

Appendix A (i)

Figures supporting Graph 4. p.97 - Male occupation/residential relationship Sherwood Shire 1894

Neighbourhood	Professional	White Collar	Responsibility/ management	Self- employed White collar	Self- employed Blue collar	Skilled	Unskilled	Semi- skilled	Farmers	Teachers	Occupation not recorded	Total	Government employment			
													Queensland Railways	Queensland Public Service	Queensland Public Service Hospital	Commonwealth
(E) Chelmer East			2						3			5				
(W) Chelmer West	1	2	4				3				4	14				
(E) Graceville East						2	1		4		4	11				
(W) Graceville West			2		1	1	2		1		4	11				
(E) Sherwood East	1	3	1	4	2	7	2	2	9		6	37	1			
(W) Sherwood West	1	3	2	1	1	1					4	13		2		
(E) Corinda East		5	3					1	9		4	22	1	3		
(W) Corinda West	1	1	3						2			7	1	1		
(E) Oxley East		2	2	2	1	6		1	10	1	2	27	2	1		
(W) Oxley (west side)	1	2	2	1					2		3	11		1		
17 Mile Rocks									8			8				
Wolston (agricultural)			1						2			3				
Wolston (railway station)			1			1					2	4	1			
Woogaroo Assylum																
Darra																
Total	5	18	23	8	5	18	8	4	50	1	33	173	6	8		

Number and percentage of occupations, Chelmer, Graceville, Sherwood, Corinda and Oxley, located on the East (E) and West (W) side of railway.

	East side of railway		West side of railway	
Professional/white collar/managerial/teachers	26	30.23%	27	65.85%
Blue Collar/skilled/semi-skilled/unskilled	25	29.07%	9	21.95%
Agricultural	35	40.70%	5	12.20%
Total	86	100.00%	41	100.00%

The above includes only those whose addresses could be defined;<sup>4</sup> farmers and 11 residents with urban occupations have been excluded.

Source: *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate, 1894; Queensland Post Office Directory, 1894-5.*



Appendix A (ii)

Figures supporting Graph 4, p.97 - Male occupation/residential relationship Sherwood Shire 1900

Neighbourhood	Professional	White Collar	Responsibility/ management	Self-employed White collar	Self-employed Blue collar	Skilled	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Farmers	Teachers	Occupation not recorded	Total	Government employment				
													Queensland Railways	Queensland Public Service	Queensland Public Service Hospital	Shire Council	Commonwealth
(E) Chelmer East		2	3						5			10					
(W) Chelmer West	2	3	3				4		1		2	15					
(E) Graceville East						2	1		4		2	9					
(W) Graceville West		3	3		1	2	2	1	1		2	15		1			
(E) Sherwood East	2	9		4	4	12	8	3	6	1	7	56	3				
(W) Sherwood West	2	6	2		1		1	1			3	16	3	1			
(E) Corinda East	1	7	2	2		1	4	2	11		6	36	4	2			
(W) Corinda West	2		3				1				2	8	3	1			
(E) Oxley East		2	3	4	3	4	11	4	7	1	4	43	7	1			
(W) Oxley (west side)	1	2	2				1		1		5	12	2			1	
17 Mile Rocks		1					1		18	1	1	22					
Wolston (agricultural)							2		1			3					
Wolston (railway station)							5	1			3	9					
Woogaroo Assylum	1						3	5				9			9		
Darra						1	1					2					
Total	11	35	21	10	9	22	45	17	55	3	37	265	22	6	9	1	

Number and percentage of occupations, Chelmer, Graceville, Sherwood, Corinda and Oxley, located on the East (E) and West (W) side of railway.

	(E) East side of railway		(W) West side of railway	
Professional/white collar/managerial/teachers	43	31.86%	34	65.38%
Blue Collar/skilled/semi-skilled/unskilled	59	43.70%	15	28.85%
Agricultural	33	24.44%	3	5.77%
Total	135	100.00%	52	100.00%

The above includes only those whose addresses could be defined; 3 farmers and 6 residents with urban occupations have been excluded.

Source: *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate, 1900; Queensland Post Office Directory, 1900.*

Appendix A (iii)

Figures supporting Graph 2, (p. 79), Graph 3, (p. 80), Graph 4, (p. 97), Table 3, (p. 90) - Male/Female occupation/residential relationship, Sherwood Shire, 1915

Neighbourhood	Male													Female					Males only, Government employment													
	Professional	Managerial/responsible	Graziers	White collar	Self-employed white collar	Clergy/Police	Teachers	Military	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	Self-employed Blue Collar	Farmers	Retired or no job listed	Other	Total male	Household/domestic duties	Office	Nursing	Dressmaker/tailor-seamstress	Teacher	Servant/allied work	No job listed	Other	Total Female	Total Male/Female	Qld Railways	Qld Public Service	Qld Hospital	Shire Council	Civilian Servants	
(E) Chelmer East	1	3	2	5							3		4			18	17		1	3	1	2	1			25	43	1	1			
(W) Chelmer West	11	3	1	38	1		4		5	2	11	2	2	3		83	91	9		2	6	5	1	3		117	200	2	8			
(E) Graceville East				7					7	5	5		8	3		35	30				1			2		33	68	2				
(W) Graceville West	4	3		17	1		1	1	9	4	7	2	1			50	51				1	5				57	107	3	1			1
(E) Sherwood East	2	1		25	3	2	4		36	17	36	10	3	2		141	123	3	1	3			3			133	274	5	2			1
(W) Sherwood West	9	1	2	21					2	1	5	2	1	3		47	44	3	3	1		10		1		62	109	1	2			
(E) Corinda East	7	10		26	4	3	1		13	15	26	3	3	12		123	115	5		4	6	2		3		135	258	7	4			2
(W) Corinda West	7	9		20	1		2	1	1	4	6		1	1		53	56	2	1		2	3				64	117	5	5		1	1
(E) Oakley East	2	2		7	3	1	1		14	11	47	3	9	2	2	104	83	2	1	3	3			2	4	98	202	8	2			1
(W) Oakley West (West side)	2	1		6	1					1	5			3		19	19	1		1	3	2				26	45	1				
17 Mile Rocks				3			1				3		18			25	23	1				1				25	50					
Woolton (agricultural)									1		2		8			11	9									9	20	1				
Woolton (Railway Station)									7	3	8					18	6	1					1			9	27	6	1			
Woolaroo Asylum	3	1							1	4	20					29	7		25							32	61			19		
Dunn				3	1				13	3	26	2	1	2		51	45									45	96	1				
Total	48	34	5	178	15	6	14	2	109	70	210	24	59	31	2	807	719	27	32	18	23	30	8	13		870	1677	43	26	19	1	6

The above includes only those whose addresses could be defined.  
Source: Queensland Electoral Roll, Oakley Electorate, 1915.



Appendix A (iv)

Figures supporting Graph 4, p.97 - Male Occupation/residential relationship, east/west side of the Ipswich-Brisbane railway, and other areas, Sherwood Shire, 1915.

Occupations	Between Chelmer and Oxley				Other Areas	Total	% Total of Shire
	East side of railway		West side of railway				
A							
Professional	12		33		3	48	5.95
Responsibility/management	16		17		1	34	4.21
Graziers	2		3		0	5	0.62
White collar	70		102		6	178	22.06
Self-employed white collar	10		4		1	15	1.86
Clergy/police	6		0		0	6	0.74
Teachers	6		7		1	14	1.73
Military	0		2		0	2	0.25
A. Sub total	122	30.50%*	168	69.42%*	12	302	37.42
B							
Farmers	27		5		27	59	7.31
B. Sub total	27	6.75%*	5	2.06%*	27	59	7.31
C							
Skilled	70		17		22	109	13.51
Semi-skilled	48		12		10	70	8.67
Unskilled	117		34		59	210	26.03
Self-employed blue collar	16		6		2	24	2.97
C. Sub total	251	62.75%*	69	28.52%*	93	413	51.18
D							
Other, retired or no job listed	21		10		2	33	4.09
D. Sub total	21		10		2	33	4.09
Total	421		252		134	807	100.00

\* Represents percentages of combined A, B, C sub-totals, and are depicted Graph 4, p.97 as follows: A, as middle class and white collar occupations, B, as agricultural occupations, and C, as working class. The above includes only those whose addresses could be defined.

Appendix A (v)

Male and female occupations listed in *Oxley Electoral Roll, 1915*, whose associated addresses could not be specifically defined for inclusion in the analysis of status groups on either side of the Ipswich-Brisbane railway between Chelmer and Oxley (with figures in Appendix A (iii), p.267, and Appendix A (iv), p.268, supports Graph 2, p.79, Graph 3, p.80, and Table 3, p.90)

	Professional	Responsible bills	White collar	Self employed white collar	Teachers	Services	Graziers	Chiefs/ Police	No job	Skilled	Semi skilled	Unskilled	Farmers	Self- employed blue collar	Total male	Household	Office	Tailoring/ dressmaker	Nurse	Teacher	Servant	No job	Other	Total Female	Total Male and Female	Old Railways	Old Public Service
Chelmer			9							1		1	2	2	15	15	1			1		2		19	34		3
Grassville		1	7	2			1			5		2			18	15	1	1					1	18	36	2	
Sherwood			3							1		1			5	15				1				16	21		1
Corinda	2		4					1	2			1			10	20							20	30		1	
Oxley	1	1	2	1							3	7	8		23	25		3		1				29	52	1	
Total	3	2	25	3			1	1	2	7	3	12	10	2	71	80	2	4	0	3		2	1	102	173	3	5

Source: *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Division, 1915*



## Appendix A (vi)

Sample of categories and occupations used in the occupation/residential analysis of suburban residents in the Sherwood Shire, 1894, 1900, 1915.

<u>Professional</u>	<u>White collar</u>	<u>Responsibility/management</u>
Accountant	Auctioneer	Administrator
Architect	Broker	Chief Clerk
Barrister	Commission agent	Company manager
Civil Engineer	Customs officer	Hotel keeper
Doctor	Draper	Inspector of Banks
Engineer	Draughtsman	Inspector of schools
Geologist	Dispenser	Prominent merchant
Land surveyor	Insurance agent	Prominent woolbroker
Marine surveyor	Manufacturer's agent	Railway station master
Solicitor	Public servant	
	Stenographer	
<u>Self-employer white collar</u>	<u>Self-employed blue collar</u>	<u>Farming</u>
Draper	Baker	Dairymen
Fruiterer	Blacksmith	Farmers
Indent agent	Bootmaker	Farmhand
Merchant	Butcher	Poultrymen
Storekeeper	Contractor	
Woolbroker	Fuel merchant	
	General agent	
	Manufacturer	
<u>Skilled</u>	<u>Semi-skilled</u>	<u>Unskilled</u>
Asst. Station master	Bricklayer	Carter
Baker	Brickmaker	Ferryman
Blacksmith	Beekeeper	Freezer
Boilermaker	Boot clicker	Ganger
Bootmaker	Carrier	Hospital attendant
Butcher	Confectioner	Labourer
Carpenter	Ironmonger	Lengthsmen
Compositor	Lithographer	Postman
Mono-type operator	Moulder	Railway gatekeeper
Painter	Pattern maker	Shop assistant
Printer	Preserver	Shopman
Tailor	Railway guard	Warehouseman
	Signalman	
	Telegraphist	
	Warder	

Source: *Queensland Electoral Rolls, Oxley Electorate*, 1894, 1900, 1915; *Queensland Post Office Directories*, 1894-5, 1900.

## Appendix B

Material supporting analysis of Sherwood Shire Council, 1891-1925.

- (i) Occupations, Chairmen of the Sherwood Shire Council, 1891-1925.
- (ii) Voting, election and occupations of candidates, first Sherwood Divisional Board, 10 March 1891.
- (iii) Percentages - expenditure allocation, Sherwood Shire, 1891-1921.
- (iv) Sample, Sherwood Shire financial statement, indicating the complexity of its operation during 1919.



## Appendix B (i)

## Occupations, Chairmen of the Sherwood Shire Council, 1891-1925.

<u>Chairman</u>	<u>Term</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
John Moffatt	1891-1892	Farmer
William Jack	1893	City businessman
Thomas Murray Hall	1893-1895	Proprietor accountancy firm
Charles Chalmers Mair	1896	Unknown
Matthew Buscall Goggs, Jr.	1897-8; 1907-8	Grazier
Robert Disher Neilson	1899	City businessman
Joseph William Sutton	1900-1901	Proprietor shipbuilding firm
Henry William Coxen	1902-1903	Retired grazier
George Bowler	1904	Dairyman
George Leitch Ramsay	1904-1906	Clerk
Theodore Geddes Dewar	1909	Accountant
Fanshawe Derby L.Gostling	1910-1917	Retired Grazier
Audley Raymond Jones	1917	Accountant
Arthur Baynes	1918-1919	Solicitor
Charles William Lyon	1920-1925	Painting and decorating business

Source: *Brisbane Centenary Official Historical Souvenir*, 1924, pp.181-2; *Brisbane Courier*, 1893-1914; Financial statements, Sherwood Shire in *Queensland Government Gazette*, 1904-1917; *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1900, 1915.

Appendix B (ii)

Voting and election of first Sherwood Divisional Board, 10 March 1891.

No. 1 Subdivision#

The following candidates were elected unopposed:

T. O'Connor\*, R. Whitaker\*, S. Knight\*.

No. 2 Subdivision#

J. Moffatt*	79
W.F. Lyon*	77
A. Brodie*	76
J.P. DeWinton	74
T.M. Hall	68
C.C. Martindale	55

No. 3 Subdivision#

C. Buzzacott*	111	elected
W. Orr*	103	elected
W.K. Berry*	102	elected
G. Strong	64	

\* Ratepayers Association members

# Subdivisions became Divisions in 1902

Source: *Brisbane Courier*, 11 March 1891, p.5.

Occupations of Candidates

W.K. Berry	Commission agent
A. Brodie	Farmer
J.P. DeWinton	Proprietor of Queensland Brick and Tile Works
T.M. Hall	Proprietor, city accountancy firm
S. Knight	Distillery owner
W.F. Lyon	Apiarist; part time carpenter and undertaker
C.C. Martindale	Farmer; former secretary of Brisbane River Sugar Co.
J. Moffatt	Farmer
T. O'Connor	Surveyor
W. Orr	Farmer
G. Strong	Farmer
R. Whitaker	Commission agent

Source: *Queensland Electoral Roll, Oxley Electorate*, 1894; *Queensland Post office Directories*, 1892-1895; local recollections.



## Appendix B (iii)

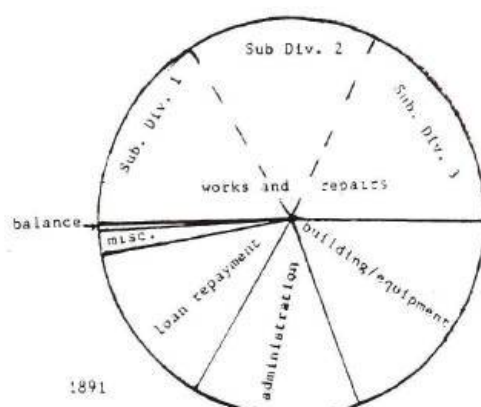
## Percentages - expenditure allocation Sherwood Shire, 1891-1921.

## 1891

Income £2500/0/1

## Expenditure

Works and repairs	50.85%
Administration	18.31%
Buildings/equipment	14.51%
Loan repayment	13.80%
Misc. expenses	2.20%
Balance	0.33%

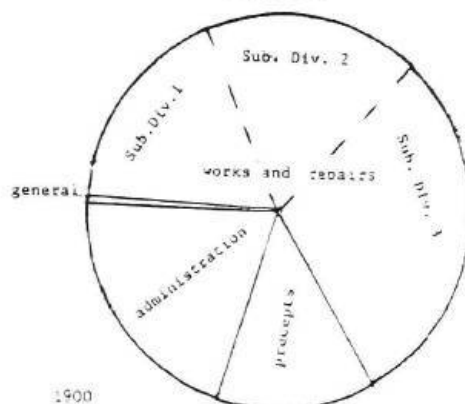


## 1900

Income £1619/15/4 (inc. debit balance £37/3/-)

## Expenditure

Works and repairs	66.20%
Administration	20.45%
Precepts, inc. Victoria Bridge	12.75%
General expenses	0.60%

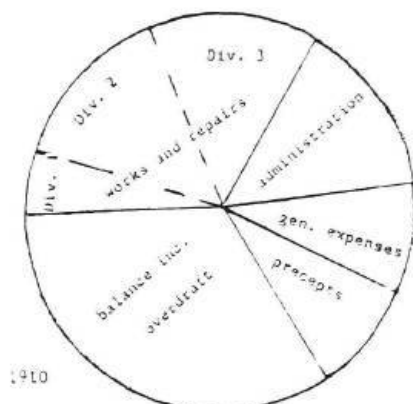


## 1910

Income £2920/11/2

## Expenditure

Works and repairs	32.90%
Administration	14.70%
General expenses	9.36%
Precepts	8.44%
Balance - overdraft	34.60%

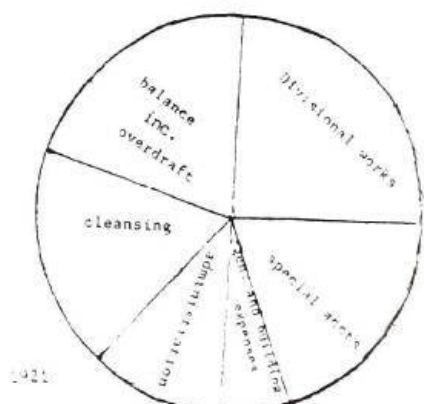


## 1921

Income £12591/7/8 (inc. overdraft £1579/12/10)

## Expenditure

Divisional works and repairs	24.90%
Special Accounts ('Lizzie', water, electricity, park, M.R.D., precepts etc.)	19.80%
General and building expenses	5.40%
Administration	11.80%
Cleansing contract	18.80%
Balance (inc. overdraft)	19.30%



Source: Sherwood financial statements, *QGG*, vol.54, no.2, 5 Sept. 1892, pp.58-59, vol.55, no.29, 23 Jan. 1891, p.355, vol.74, no.46, 18 Aug. 1900, p.408, vol.76, no.6, 4 May 1901, p.27, vol.96, no.160, 24 June 1911, p.2012, vol.119, no.2, 1 July 1922, p.36.

## Appendix B (iv)

Sample, Sherwood Shire financial statement of receipts and expenditure, indicating complexity of the Shire's operation during 1919.

## Queensland Government Gazette

284. VOL. CXIV.]

2227

[5TH JUNE, 1920.

SHIRE OF SHERWOOD.  
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE for the  
Year ended 31st December, 1919.

1919.	RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
31st December—			
Rates Received—			
Division 1—			
General	1,229	4	1
Discount	84	4	7
		1,144	19
Division 2—			
General	1,687	6	5
Discount	149	2	1
		1,538	4
Division 3—			
General	2,201	7	4
Discount	189	12	0
		2,011	15
Cleansing Rates—			
Division 1	312	14	9
Division 2	553	17	11
Division 3	682	2	3
New Services	5	2	8
		1,553	17
Interest on Rates—			
Division 1	2	7	5
Division 2	0	2	10
Division 3	1	1	2
		3	11
Divisional Receipts—			
Division 1	1	15	0
Division 2	39	5	7
Division 3	£172	11	0
Chelmer Ferry—			
Ferry Cottage Rent	12	11	8
Taringa Council	211	15	0
		306	17
Gracerville Memorial Park			
General Receipts	11	19	0
Disbursed Cheques	65	19	10
Refund Rates	4	17	6
Refund Rates	1	12	3
Registration Grant	298	5	6
Health Account—			
Dead Animals	12	8	8
Infuzma Rebates	46	17	3
		59	5
War Bond Instalments (Employees)			
Debtor Balance, Q. N. Bank	8	16	0
		1,272	10
		£8,413	15

EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
31st January—		
By Balance, Q. N. Bank		1,137
31st December—		
General Expenditure—		
Audit Fee	12	0
Disbursed Cheques	4	17
Electric Lighting Scheme	40	14
Flag Pole and Flags	18	0
Furniture, Cartage, &c.	57	10
Health Account	372	3
Holidays to Gang	61	8
Increase to Gangs (Wages Award)	52	19
Insurance	8	11
Interest on Overdraft and Charges	75	13
Labour	10	11
Legal Expenses (Summons)	11	5
Other Cleansing	16	0
Materials	13	4
Memorial Park—		
Registration Grant	358	16
Tree Planting	50	12
		409
Petty Cash and Stamps	71	0
Printing, Advertising, and Stationery	83	7
Refund Rates—		
Soldiers	14	2
Overpaid	0	9
		14
Repairs to Tools	35	8
Salaries—		
Staff	512	18
Chairman's Allowance	75	0
		587
Telephone	15	8
Tools and Plant Account	44	10
Water Rates	7	4
Welcome Home	56	14
Cleansing Contract—E. Mawby (Con-		
tractor)		1,563
Divisional Expenditure—		
Division 1	695	4
Division 2	325	2
Division 3	720	13
		1,741
Chelmer Ferry		
"Todge" Running Account	346	7
Memorial Park, Gracerville	323	17
Miscellaneous	148	6
Quarry and Gravel Areas	639	9
Quarry Plant Extension Account	41	5
Freeway—Victoria Bridge Board	35	4
		123

EXPENDITURE—continued.	£ s. d.
By Public Hall Account	46
Quarry Account	137
Subscriptions	50
	£8,413

LIABILITIES AND ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
31st December—		
LIABILITIES.		
To Q. N. Bank—		
Overdraft	1,272	10
Inscribed Stock	186	15
Cleansing Account	139	4
Contract Deposits	29	13
Estate M. R. Goggs—Gravel and Quarry		
Sites	247	5
Balance, Capital Account	2,200	0
	£4,075	9

ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
31st December—		
By Landed Properties—		
Chelmer Ferry Cottage	135	0
Drainage Area (Sherwood)	5	5
Gravel Pit (Sherwood)	10	0
Jarrod Street Extension	30	0
Land (Ipswich Road)	17	0
Memorial Park and Road Approach	340	0
Plumridge Street (Drainage Allotment)	15	0
Quarry—		
Corinda	120	0
Mount Hominy and Gravel Area	327	10
Plant	788	6
Subway (Lot 227, Branch Line	25	0
Shire Hall and Land	253	1
	2,076	2
Movable Properties—		
Chelmer Ferry Plant	113	17
Foden Engine and Trailer	526	10
Public Hall Advances	181	9
Office Furniture	55	9
Tools and Plant	169	18
	1,047	3
Suspense Account—		
Contract Deposits	29	13
Petty Cash on Hand	6	12
Suspense Account	10	0
	46	5
7th War Loan—Inscribed Stock		
Arrears of Rates—		
Division 1—		
General	374	14
Cleansing	40	15
Interest	56	8
	473	18
Division 2—		
General	50	8
Cleansing	16	4
Interest	6	14
	73	7
Division 3—		
General	129	18
Cleansing	17	11
Interest	11	2
	158	12
	£4,075	9

VALUATION AND RATES LEVIED.	£ s. d.
Division 1 (Valuation, £63,310)—General, £1,318	19s. 2d.
Cleansing, £332 18s. 3d.; Total, £1,651 17s. 5d.	
Division 2 (Valuation, £61,450)—General, £1,696	17s. 6d.
Cleansing, £562 2s. 9d.; Total, £2,259 0s. 3d.	
Division 3 (Valuation, £107,779)—General, £2,245	7s. 11d.
Cleansing, £696 15s. 3d.; Total, £2,942 3s. 2d.	
A General Rate, of 5d. in the £, was made on the Three Divisions of the Shire of Sherwood on the seventeenth day of April, 1919, also a Cleansing Rate, of 30s. per service per annum, upon the basis provided by subsection 2 of section 217 of the Local Authorities Acts upon the same date.	

CONTRACTS.	Amount—
Contract—Cleansing. Contractor—Mr. Mawby.	£1,563 10s. 10d.

DIVISIONAL BALANCES.	Dr.	Cr.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Division 1	552	9
Division 2	181	10
Division 3	603	3
Cleansing		64
		12

I, the undersigned, hereby certify that I have examined the Books of Account and Vouchers kept by the Sherwood Shire Council, and that the above Statements correspond therewith.

ARTHUR RUST, A.F.I.A., Auditor.  
The foregoing Statement of Accounts was placed before the Sherwood Shire Council at a meeting, pursuant to the requirements of section 257 of "The Local Authorities Acts, 1902-1917," and the common seal of the said Council has been affixed hereto by an order of the Council on eighteenth day of March, 1920.

I. P. C. BENNETT, Shire Clerk. C. W. LYON, Chairman.  
1428 106a.



## Appendix C

Material supporting religious influences in the Sherwood Shire: training of protestant ministers, and activities of protestant lay supporters.

- (i) Programme of Studies, training of ministers, Divinity Hall, Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1890s.
- (ii) Text Books four year probationary period for Wesleyan ministers, 1887.
- (iii) - Activities associated with lay membership of protestant churches located in the Sherwood Shire, 1885-1920.

Programme of Studies

Training of Ministers

Divinity Hall, Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1890s

PROGRAMME OF STUDIES.

EXAMINERS.	FIRST YEAR.	SECOND YEAR.	THIRD YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.	FIFTH YEAR.
REV. C. McCULLOCH.	Theology—Bible Knowledge.	Theology (Systematic) — The Subordinate Standards.	Theology (Systematic) — Anthropology.	Theology (Systematic) — Esoteriology and Apologetics.	Theology (Systematic) — Eschatology, Hermeneutics and Homiletics.
REV. C. OGG.	Church History—Century I.	Church History—Century I.—III.	Church History to the Reformation.	Church History—The period of the Reformation.	Church History, with special reference to Doctrine.
REV. A. HAY, M.A.	—	—	Hebrew—Elementary Grammar, including the Regular Verb.	Hebrew—Advanced Grammar, including all the forms of the verb, with Gen. I.—X., and Ps I.—XX.	Hebrew—Grammar, including syntax, with one of the large historical books and Psalms I.—XX.
REV. A. HAY, M.A.	Greek—The Grammar and one prose author.	Greek—The Grammar, easy prose composition, and one prose and one poetical author.	Greek—The Grammar, advanced prose composition, and one prose and one poetical author.	Greek—The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.	Greek—The New Testament <i>ad apturam libri</i> .
REV. J. F. McSWAIN.	Latin—The Grammar and one prose author.	Latin—The Grammar, prose composition, and one prose and one poetical author.	Latin—The Grammar, advanced prose composition, and one prose and one poetical author.	Latin—Calvini Institution, one book.	Latin—Calvini Institution, one book.
REV. A. HAY, M.A.	—	—	Biblical Literature—The History of the English Bible.	Biblical Literature—Introduction to the Old and New Testaments, including the History of the Creation.	Biblical Literature—Criticism, specially of the New Testament.
REV. D. F. MITCHELL.	—	Logic and Metaphysics.	Metaphysics, Logic and Metaphysics.	Moral Philosophy.	—
REV. J. F. McSWAIN.	English Language and Grammar.	English Language and Grammar.	English Language and Literature.	English Language and Literature.	—
REV. C. OGG.	Mathematics—Geometry, Euclid I. and II., Arithmetic to Decimal Fractions, and Algebra to Fractions.	Mathematics—Geometry, Euclid I. and IV., Arithmetic generally, Algebra to simple Equations.	Mathematics—Geometry, Euclid, with Elementary Trigonometry or Natural Philosophy.	—	—

(Rev. Alexander Hay, *Jubilee Memorial Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1849-1899*. Brisbane: Alex Muir, 1900, p.169.)



## Appendix C (ii)

## Text Books Four Year Probationary Period for Wesleyan Ministers, 1887.

*First Year of Probation.*

1. English Bible, Westcott's "History of English Bible." Introduction, Chapters i. and ii.—External History.
2. Greek Testament, Matthew v. to x. (Green's "New Testament Grammar.")
3. Wesley's Sermons, 1 to 16.
4. Systematic Theology, Pope's "Compendium," vol. I., pp. 1 to 230.
5. Ecclesiastical History, Smith's "Student's," pp. 1 to 100.
6. Evidences of Christianity, Redford's "Christian's Plea against Modern Unbelief," parts I. and II. (pp. 1 to 142.)
7. Reynold's "Supernatural in Nature," studies i. to v.
8. Hatch's "Organization of the Early Christian Church."

Note I.—Those Probationers who cannot obtain Westcott's "History of the English Bible," must substitute Dr. Stoughton's "Our English Bible" 1 to 148.

*Second Year of Probation.*

1. English Bible, Westcott's "History of the English Bible." Chapter iii. and conclusion :—Internal History.
2. Greek Testament, Luke v. to x. (Green's "New Testament Grammar.")
3. Wesley's Sermons, 16 to 33.
4. Systematic Theology, Pope's "Compendium," vol. I. page 230 to vol. II. page 139.
5. Ecclesiastical History, Smith's "Student's," pp. 101 to 285.
6. Evidences of Christianity, Redford's "Christian's Plea against Modern Unbelief," part III., Chapters 1 to 6 (pp. 143 to 258.)
7. Reynold's "Supernatural in Nature," studies vi. to xiii.
8. Hebrew, Genesis xii. to xvii. (selected for English Probationers, Minutes 1884.)

Note I.—Those Probationers who cannot obtain Westcott's "History of the English Bible," must substitute Dr. Stoughton's "Our English Bible," pp. 149 to 304.

*Third Year of Probation.*

1. English Bible, Westcott's "Canon of the New Testament, First period (pp. 1 to 331.)
2. Greek Testament, John i. to v. (Green's "New Testament Grammar.")
3. Wesley's Sermons, 34 to 53.
4. Systematic Theology, Pope's "Compendium," vol. II. page 140 to end of vol. II.
5. Ecclesiastical History, Smith's "Student's," pp. 286 to 488.
6. Evidences of Christianity, Redford's "Christian's Plea against Modern Unbelief," part III. chapters 6 and 7 (pp. 259 to 360.)
7. Reynold's "Supernatural in Nature," studies xiv. to xviii.
8. Hebrew, Deuteronomy v. to x. (Selected for English Probationers Minutes 1884.)

*Fourth Year of Probation.*

1. English Bible, Westcott's "Canon of the New Testament, Second period (pp. 332 to end.)
2. Greek Testament, ii. Epistle Timothy (Green's "New Testament Grammar.")
3. Arthur's Fernley Lecture, "Physical and Moral Law."
4. Systematic Theology, Pope's "Compendium," whole of Vol. III.
5. Ecclesiastical History, Smith's "Student's," pp. 489 to end.
6. Evidences of Christianity, Redford's "Christian's Plea against Modern Unbelief," part III., chapters 8 to 10 (pp. 361 to end.)
7. Reynold's "Supernatural in Nature," Studies xix. to xxii.
8. Hebrew, Isaiah xi. to xlv. (selected for English Probationers—Minutes 1884.)

(Minutes, 14th New South Wales/Queensland Conference, Australasian Wesleyan Church, 1887, pp. 64, 65.)

## Appendix C (iii)

**Activities associated with lay membership of protestant churches, Sherwood Shire 1885-1920.**

All denominations: Sunday services, baptism, marriage, communion.

Church of England: confirmation, churchings

Presbyterian: confession of faith

Methodist: decision day activities

**Church of England**

Male parent/ adult males	Female parent /adult females		Young people's activities
.church warden	.mother's union	.coin teas	.Sunday school
.parochial councillor	.ladies guild	.Sunday school	.adoption, mission child
.synod representative	.sewing guild	teacher	.fancy dress balls
	.rectory fund- raising	.choir member	.men's society
		.organist	.boy's society
			.prohibition activities

**Presbyterian**

Male parent/ adult males	Female parent/adult females	Young people's activities
.elder, kirk session	.church management committee, 1890s	.Sunday school
.church management committee	.women's guild	.Bible class
.congregation committee	.women's missionary union	.Christian Endeavour
.synod representative	.sewing and work guild	.temperance
.presbytery representative	.fund raising, new church building; repairs to manse	.choir member
.superintendent, Sunday school	.organist	
.superintendent of choir	.choir member	

**Methodist**

Male parent/ adult males	Female parent/adult females	Young people's activities
.church council	.women's church help society	.Sunday school
.superintendent, Sunday school	.convenors, Sunday school picnic	.Bible class
.Sunday school teacher	.Sunday school teacher	.Christian Endeavour
.choirmaster	.organist	.temperance lessons
.representative, Methodist conference		.Worshipping Children's League
		.Young People's Guild



Appendix (D)

**Sample, residential subdivision real estate map.**

The Johnston Estate Sherwood, 1888.

# THE JOHNSTON ESTATE SHERWOOD.

3 MINUTES WALK FROM SHERWOOD STATION.



277 CHOICE BUILDING SITES

23 BLOCKS ABOUT 1 ACRE EACH OF CULTIVATED LAND SUITABLE FOR MARKET GARDENS.

SALE Saturday, Sept. 1st 1888.

USUAL METROPOLITAN TERMS.

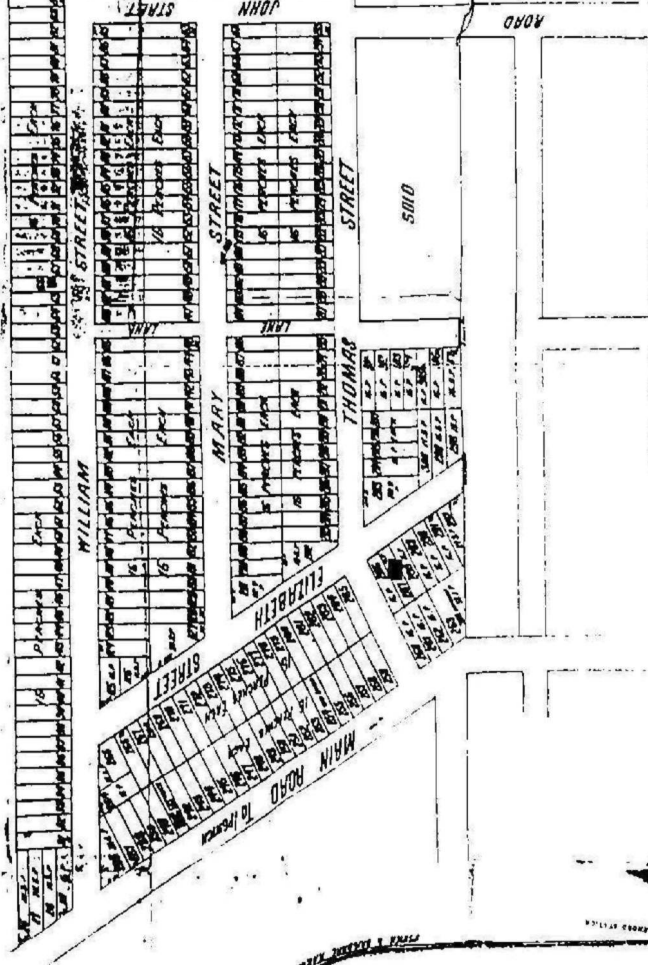
BEING SUBS. OF POR. 25.

PARISH OF OXLEY.

THIS PROPERTY IS THE PICK OF THE DISTRICT "JOHNSTON'S FARM"

BEING WELL KNOWN AS NOT TO BE SURPASSED FOR CROPS OF ANY KIND. PERMANENT WATER ON THE PROPERTY AND LONG CREEK FRONTAGES.

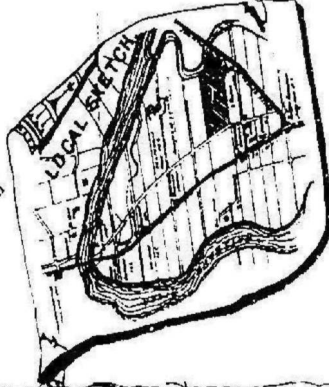
G. K. Lopp Surveyor



## TERMS

1. Quarter Cash Deposit. Balance of 1/4, 1/4, and 1/4 to be paid in three equal instalments over two years. Interest at 5% per cent.
2. 30 per cent. Deposit. Balance by monthly instalments commencing after two years. Interest at 5% per cent.
3. 10 per cent. Deposit. Balance repayable by monthly instalments commencing after two years. Interest at 5% per cent.
4. 10 per cent. Deposit. Balance repayable by fortnightly instalments at the rate of interest at current rate.

PURCHASERS can immediately borrow 75 per cent. of the cost of building. CASH PURCHASERS will be allowed two and a half per cent. discount for cash payment.



*John Oxley Library*



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Reference Material

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Private Papers: Institutions, Organizations  
and Individual Collections

Maps

Art Exhibition

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Periodicals

Typescripts and handwritten records

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Books

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Theses

Memorials/Stones



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### Theses

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Cleary, James, T. The North Brisbane School of Arts, 1849-1889. Honours thesis, Bachelor of Arts, University of Queensland, 1967.

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### Memorials/Stones

Foundation Stone, Sherwood Methodist Church, (now Uniting Church), Sherwood Road, Sherwood, 1914.

Honour Roll, enlisted men, Great War, Sherwood Shire, unveiled 31 March 1917 in the Sherwood Shire Hall; now located in the Gifford Croll R.S.L. Memorial Hall, Corinda.

Honour Roll/obelisk, Great War, Graceville Memorial Park, 1920.

Memorial, Great War, Oxley Road, Oxley, 1920.

Memorial plaque, Reverend J.S. Pollock, Sherwood Presbyterian Church, now part of Chapel Gardens, Oxley Road, Sherwood.

Memorial plaque, 'Sergeant W.H. Cooling, killed at Gallipoli', the grounds of the Sherwood Methodist Church, (now Uniting Church), Sherwood Road, Sherwood.

Memorial, South African War, 1899-1902. Erected 1902, St. Matthew's Church grounds, Sherwood Road and Church Street, (Egmont Street), Sherwood; now part of St. Matthew's cemetery.

